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ABSTRACT

The contemporary rural population, comprising one-quarter of the nation's total, is diverse. Hence, no single label can be applied to its inhabitants, its families, or its children. This collection of articles, highlighted with drawings by five year old rural residents, describes adaptations to modern American life made by three types of rural families--the Amish, the migrants, and the Appalachians; discusses the educational, health, housing and religious influences in rural life that shape the family and its children; emphasizes the need for accurate 1980 census reporting to reveal demographic change in the rural population; and takes a broad look at changes experienced by the rural community. Articles included are: "Being Amish: Some Notes on Childhood Socialization and Acculturation Among the Older Order Amish" by Roy C. Buck; "The Migrant Child: Coping with a Life Style" by Helen Fritz Hornbake; "The Appalachian Child" by E.E. Gotts and L.A. Higginbotham; "The Demography of the Rural Family" by C. Shannon Stokes; "Every School a Good School: A Rural School" by Robert G. Scanlon; "The Health of Rural Children" by Charles C. Crawford; "Housing in Nonmetropolitan America" by Joseph L. Wysocki; "Religion and the Rural Church" by Donald M. Crider; and "Trends and Issues in Rural Community Change" by Kenneth P. Wilkinson. (NEC)

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IYC Series - Part IV

Theme: Rural Children and Rural Families

PUBLISHED BY THE PITTSBURGH ASSOCIATION FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN

RC 011092

Cover Drawing

By Nick Walters, Age 5

This man is cutting wood for heating their house in the winter so he's not cold. He is cutting the wood up the hill. He is using a chain saw to cut the tree.

The chain saw makes a lot of noise. Sometimes it's sorta like a motorcycle.

People need fireplaces or big stoves to burn wood to keep warm.

(Teacher's Note: Nick always turns his paper over to continue his pictures as he did in the picture below. This picture illustrates that there are more trees on the other side of the hill. His parents and uncle have just put in wood burning stoves for added heat in the winter as fuel costs for heating homes is expensive and scarce.)

Teacher's biographical sketch of Nick Walters, Age 5

Nick lives with his sister Heidi, his mother and his father on a lot on his grandfather's farm. His father built their house. His cousins live across the road in a house built by his father's brother. Both families help the grandfather with the farming. Nick's father works in a plastics factory and mother teaches nursing at the Vocational High School within the school district. For years Nick's mother had worked part time at night at the hospital as a nurse and Nick's father was the babysitter. Nick enjoyed occasional days at the Center but Nick now attends full day at the Center because his mother has the full time teaching position. This gives the family an opportunity to be together nights and to have mother home evenings instead of working.

Nick is an excellent skier; a sport his entire family enjoys. The farm offers many fields for snowmobiling and for summer hikes. Nick spends a great deal of time in the fields playing the roles of grandfather, uncle, and cousins.

January 1980 Volume 13 Number 2

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Children In Contemporary Society

IYC SERIES - PART IV

RURAL CHILDREN AND RURAL FAMILIES

This is the last issue in a series of four issues which has been dedicated to the International Year of the Child

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Children in Contemporary Society is a quarterly interdisciplinary journal for professionals and non-professional devoted to the growth and development of young children in contemporary society.

The policy of this journal is to study various contemporary educational, social, medical, political, and economic issues which directly or indirectly influence the lives of young children. Each publication is organized around a specific issue and includes a collection of interdisciplinary readings which relate to the selected topic.

Manuscripts are welcomed if they have not been previously published. The form and content of a manuscript should follow the form as indicated in the American Psychological Association Publication Manual, 1974 Revision. Send all manuscripts to: Children in Contemporary Society, P.O. Box 9242, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15224

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EDPRESS

Columbus Township Parent-Child Center

by CARRIE ANNETTE HEASLEY

[Editor's Note: Most of the art work in this issue is done by children from the Columbus Township Parent-Child Center. The article describes the community setting for the children and the school].

The Columbus Township Parent-Child Center serves children from rural farm and rural non-farm families living in western Warren County and eastern Erie County. The Center is located on an eight hundred acre dairy farm on Route 957 running parallel to U.S. Route 6.

Small dairy farms, and farms raising potatoes, sunflowers, corn and oats are the main sources of incomes for farm families. Several farmers raise beans for canneries. Numerous farmers raise garden produce for shipment to city markets, or to sell in farmers' markets locally.

Late summer and fall are times young children observe trucks, harvesting wagons and machines moving along highways and farm roads, reaping the harvest and exhibiting fine samples in county fairs. Most non-farm children have parents who had been farm children. They reside in trailers or homes built on their parents' or grandparents' property. Both parents usually work in area factories which produce steel and plastics.

The farms are not the lush rolling or flat fields typical of other areas in Pennsylvania. The farms that are productive are family farms, which have sons and father joining several small farms into one, using large machinery and big farming practices. Small farms do not produce enough to support the families, which tend to be larger than average. There is much land in scrub trees and gamelands. Non-farm families find these areas reasonable to rent.

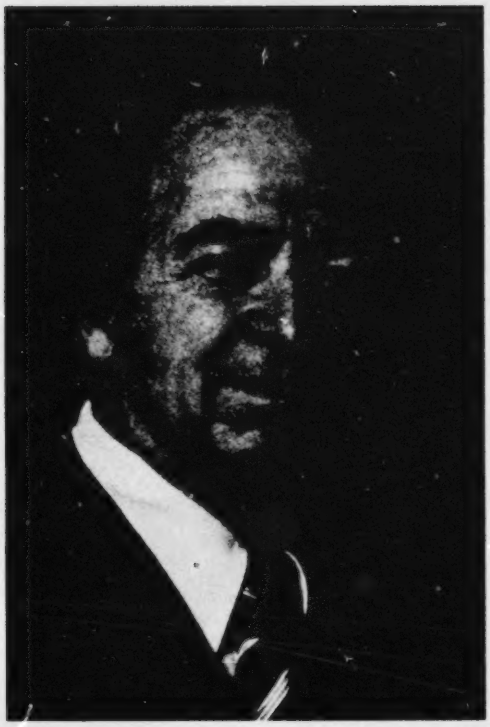
Children grow up with the outdoor environment very much a part of their lives. Tractors, snowmobiles, motorcycles, ski equipment, harvesters, choppers, trailer trucks, pick-up trucks and cars are a part of everyday life. Winters are severe and travel is a task but a challenge to residents who must make it to work or to farm areas. The area is the dumping belt for snow and low temperatures are specific to this region 30 miles south of Lake Erie.

The Center was planned to serve rural people who are not able to travel to urban nursery schools. It is licensed to provide nursery school and day care on a flexible schedule to permit services on both a regular basis and a drop-in basis as needed by the family. Sessions run during the summer to provide quality care for children while parents are both working in the field and/or factories. A non-graded program serves preschool as well as school age children.

Children find the Center an exciting experience where they have playmates their age to play with and field trips with adults who do not have to rush to keep up with factory shifts and farm chores.

Carrie Annette Heasley: Director of Columbus Township Parent-Child Resource and Education Center.

TRIBUTE
DR. WILLIAM M. SMITH



Dr. William M. Smith is professor emeritus of rural sociology at Pennsylvania State University. He retired from Penn State on September 30, 1976, after more than 29 years at the university.

Dr. Smith came to Penn State in 1947 as professor of family relationships in the College of Home Economics, now the College of Human Development. In July 1959, he was named State 4-H Club Leader, and January 1, 1962, was named assistant director for family, youth, and community development with the Cooperative Extension Service of the University. He served in this capacity until he assumed his present position April 1, 1969.

Dr. Smith received his bachelor of science degree from Ohio State University, and his master of science and doctorate degrees in rural sociology from Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. He did post-doctoral work in marriage and family counseling at Merrill-Palmer Institute, Detroit, Michigan.

From September 1964 through July 1965, Dr. Smith was on leave for study and teaching at the National Agricultural University in the Netherlands, under a Fulbright lectureship. He worked in the fields of family sociology and extension education. He returned to the Netherlands in 1973-74 for another year of research on traditional three-generation farm families, and in summer 1976 conducted seminars at international conferences in the Netherlands and Poland.

A former director of the National Council on Family Relations, he served as president of the council in 1967 and later as editor of one of its publications, "The Family Coordinator." He is currently working with Dr. Raymond Coward of The University of Vermont, editing a book: "Families in Rural Communities."

In 1956, he received the Pennsylvania 4-H Alumni Award. He holds other honors and memberships in professional associations and societies, including a listing in "Who's Who in America" and "Leaders in American Science." The Pennsylvania Association of Extension Home Economists recognized him in 1978 for his service to Pennsylvania families.

PEOPLE ARE IMPORTANT

by WILLIAM M. SMITH

(Editor's Note: This article was written by William M. Smith to whom this issue is dedicated).

People are important. Every individual at any age has some inner core worth nourishing. Each of us gains "personhood" in a family circle, supported there and in a neighborhood by persons who care, persons who matter to us. Fortunate to grow up in a strong farm family, I have spent most of my professional years trying to discover and to help others create growth-promoting relationships in families and communities, to share my respect for personalities, for persons as and where you meet them.

This commitment gained impetus from 4-H Leaders and Extension workers who unselfishly cared about rural youth. Three great sociologists became role models: Bruce Tom at Ohio State, and Leonard Cottrell and Dwight Sanderson at Cornell. A most understanding wife and vibrant children had a lot of weeding and cultivating to do. The study and application of principles of child development and family relationships is sometimes a rough row to hoe. But it is in person-to-person relationships that the major problems of the world arise, and there the greatest source of life's satisfaction is found. It might have been easier to apply farm experience to cows or chickens or cabbages where variables can be more readily controlled, mistakes more easily hidden or remedied.

As most farm folk do, I realized early our interdependence: child--family; family--neighborhood; neighborhood--wider world. It has been rewarding to see farm and other rural youth whose paths have crossed ours move into and out of public life, reflecting the best in their backgrounds: looking for responsibility not shunning it; active, not apathetic; caring, not callous.

Now, they say, city birds are flocking to the country. They are finding grackles in the bluebirds' nests, grandmas full of life, kids copying the tunes and togs of their city cousins--many of those created from farm patterns by designers who wouldn't know a hame strap from a hitching post. So it's comforting and reassuring to realize that now someone for more than nostalgic memories must pay attention to the real "roots" of our heritage: rural families, rural children. Just as in the past, the neighborhoods they nourish and the communities they create offer fertile seed-beds for the seasonal, continuing regeneration needed in the century hurrying toward us.

by Dana Harrington
Age 5

William M. Smith, Ph.D.: Professor emeritus of Rural Sociology, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

Rural Children & Rural Families

by JAMES E. VAN HORN

It is very easy to forget that amidst the rapid urbanization of the American landscape and the massification of its society, there remains a least one-fourth of our population that is rural. Families in these settings continue to rear their children surrounded by institutions which have been characteristic of these lifestyles. This issue considers different aspects of children in our contemporary *rural* society.

Rural society has preserved many of the touches of earlier ages. Quaint villages and lone homesteads stand out and speak a certain serenity, at least at first glance, to the casual observer. Yet rural America is more!

It is primarily the people who make rural America so rich: the young and the old, the laborer and professional. Some farm the land but most do not. The rural population is diverse. Hence, no single label can be applied to its inhabitants, its families, or its children.

Three types of families and children highlight special sets of adaptations to modern American life. The Amish, the migrants, and Appalachian folk are presented as peculiarly rural. Each of the writers attempts to let us see these families and children as more than mere tourist attractions, or cheap labor, or cultural survivals from frontier life.

While each of these families experiences a different social and economic context, they all share a ccmmon goal--to provide their children with an environment that will foster optimum development.

In discussing the child and his family in rural America, I recall Iva Gordon's article, "Childhood Ecology," in *Children in Contemporary Society,* May, 1978.

> We need to recognize from birth on there is a continuous interaction between the individual biology of the child and the social forces which influence that child...in order to understand the person, to understand and assist the child, we need to know both the social situation and, indeed, the physical situation, and the child's perception of it. (P. 120).

Social forces emanate from a number of systems, some from within the neighborhood or the "at hand" community, others from the larger community. In the rural community there are many such systems acting on the family and to which the child reacts.

Consider the role of government with its laws and policies, the availability of human services, the presence or absence of adequate transportation, the availability of needed utilities, news coverage or even the postal service. Rural childen interact with these and many more levels of the environment, "the environment not only affects children, but children affect the environment which in turn influences the responses it makes to them" (VanderVen, 1978, 98-99).

James E. Van Horn, Ph.D.: Associate Professor Family Sociology Extension; Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

Recognizing that the community shapes the family and its children in contemporary society just as it has historically, four articles address, respectively, the educational, health, housing and religious influences in rural life. Rapid change in traditional American communities has sometimes brought about radical transformations in the nature and operation of these major institutions. What are the consequences to families and children?

"Trends and Issues in Rural Community Change" takes a broad look at the rural community and discusses some of the changes experienced by rural children and rural families.

While change in the rural community may be obvious, casual observation of the child, his family, and community often lead to misjudgments. All who are serious students of the rural child and family need to rely not on a passing observation, but on factual information.

The article, "The Demography of the Rural Family," looks back in a factual way to some of the changes directly affecting the rural family. But it does more! It presents to each of us an opportunity and a challenge. The opportunity is the 1980 census data. The challenge is to use this information, not only to document the change that has occured, but to ascertain the needs of the rural family, to determine whether a program is reaching the target group and to evaluate the effectiveness of a program or project.

The articles should not be thought of as the final word in any sense, but rather as stimulants to the reader to pursue, by further reading and discussion, these subjects and many other vital social forces in the rural community that interact with the child and the family.

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by Nick Walters, Age 5

Being Amish: SOME NOTES ON CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION AND ACCULTURATION AMONG THE OLD ORDER AMISH:

by ROY C. BUCK

INTRODUCTION

My interest in things Amish stems from research centering on commercial tourism's impact on Old Order Amish life ways and world view in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The observations and tentative conclusions herein presented are grounded in three-and-one-half years of study and field work centering on commercial tourism's infrastructure and its entanglement with Old Order Amish daily life in the Lancaster County community. Because my findings to date suggest that Old Order Amishmen appear not to be suffering to the extent conventional popular and scholarly critiques have conjectured, I have become interested in identifying specific features of Old Order Amish life which appear to contribute to its durability in the face of a multimillion dollar tourist industry centering on Amish uniqueness.

To set the stage for my understanding and analysis of Old Order Amish culture durability, I turn to Hostetler's and Huntington's (1971) *Children in Amish Society: Socialization and Community Education*. A section of Chapter one is titled: "The Goals of Education: Humility and Simple Living." There is, in my judgment, no more concise statement of what it means to be an Old Order Amishman and how children are directed and indeed "programmed" into the "Amish way":

> Growing up in a separated society is different from growing up in a mainstream denomination in the United States. In a denomination much of the larger society is affirmed and public education may differ little from the culture of established religions. However, if the Amish child is removed from his community and put into the consolidated school in the larger society, there is sharp discontinuity for him. In the Amish school such arbitrary distinctions between school and life do not exist, for the primary function of the Amish school is not education in the narrow sense of instruction but the creation of a learning environment continuous with Amish culture. By identifying with teachers who identify with them, children acquire understanding essential to becoming an adult. The Amish school atmosphere supports the values and attitudes of the separated community, and the individual is socialized to develop his skills and personality within the small community. Emphasis is on interaction and continuity of lives: of teachers with pupils and of parents with children...The following postulates, derived from an extensive examination of historical sources and verified from observations, express the Amish view not only of formal education, but of human nature and the ultimate goals of training the young.
>
> 1. Although children are believed to have an inherited sinful nature through no fault of their own, they are loving and teachable and with the proper

Roy C. Buck, Ph.D: Professor of Sociology and Social Science, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

environment are capable of assuming responsibility to God and man for their actions by the time they become adults.

2. Parents are responsible for training their children and morally accountable to God for teaching them right from wrong and transmitting to them a knowledge of eternal life.

3. Children are urged not to be idle but to learn to read and write so that they may acquire a knowledge of the scriptures. Learning manual skills that are useful for making a living is also encouraged.

4. Obedience to parents and to God is a cardinal virtue. Children are not to be self-willed, but well mannered, quiet, and humble in the presence of others.

5. The family and to a lesser extent the school are believed to have the primary responsibility for training the child for life. Limited individualism within the bounds of faithful adult behavior is the model for the child. It is believed that the child must have an explicit relationship to his parents, siblings, church, community, and school to achieve adequate training for adult life.

5. The school is viewed as an instrument for teaching children the literacy and skills needed to live as productive adults in an environment where values taught in the home are continuous and function throughout the life cycle. The home and the church, rather than the school, are respo sible for the religious training of the young.

7. Children during their age of innocence are regarded as pure and not in need of ceremonial baptism. Should they die in their innocence original sin is not imputed to them on account of the death of Christ. Their entrance into adulthood and the church-community is attained through familiarity with the scriptures, followed by faith and baptism after attaining adulthood.

8. Acceptance of mature social responsibility involves total commitment to the believing community and a personal willingness to suffer persecution or death in order to maintain the faith (p. 9-10).

Amish childhood socialization and specifically education do not prepare children for the world - the larger society. The school as a primary community institution centers on educating children toward effective Old Order Amish community membership and brotherhood. Intensification of traditional norms is emphasized. Goals are specific and concrete centering on maintenance and strengthening fundamental Amish ontological presuppositions in line with traditional and religious articles of workaday faith and order. The Amish school as an arm of the little community does not encourage nor celebrate individualism, exuberant creativity, or critique of the status quo. The educational experience, as is the whole business of growing up, is highly instrumental and behavioral. "What do you think?" type questions are not emphasized and certainly no youngster is encouraged to wander into the mists of questioning the meaning of his/her own existence. "Be ye doers of the Word and not hearers only" is diligently applied not only in matters religious but, and perhaps more importantly, in the mundane world of work and life's daily round.

The family and the school, the primary institutional means for shaping Amish children's sense of personhood, face the individual toward the watchful eyes of family, community and God. From earliest childhood youngsters are functionally involved in family enterprise and community obligation. In a labor-intensive system of work, be it farming or farm related occupation, children are brought into the work force and encouraged toward skillful performance in line with the community's operative religio-moral discipline. Children's sense of status and identity are rooted in productivity and obligation in the Old Order community. Unlike in the larger society, consumption is relegated to marginal position as an anchorage for status and personal identity. There is a very real "market" for children in labor-intensive Amish enterprise. I suspect

Amish children never experience the meaninglessness of "Mickey Mouse" chores invented by suburban parents to somehow keep their offspring out of mischief. Amish children at a very early age (6-7) are introduced to pitch fork and broom. They learn their "trade" at the side of parents and older brothers and sisters. Their work is on view in the family and the community. Children's work is neither praised nor celebrated. It simply is a part, a very large part, of Amish youngsters' life and as such is a powerful socializing force in maintaining the vitality of the Old Order community.

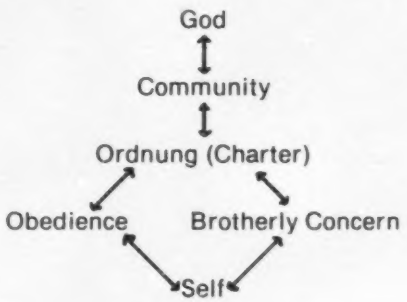
A MODEL OF AMISH SOCIALIZATION

Amish identity and socialization are developed and reinforced by acceptance of interdependence. Being needed, as suggested earlier, grounds Amish personhood. Therefore, reciprocity is basic to Amish socialization. Brotherly concern and bearing one another's burdens weave through the Amish life web and contribute mightily to strengthening the total fabric of Amish culture.

Using George Herbert Mead's (1934) perspective, one cannot but include that the objective "me" takes precedence over the subjective "I" in Amish socialization. Mead writes:

> The organized community or social groups which gives to the individual his unity of self may be called "the generalized other." The attitude of the generalized other is the attitude of the whole community (P. 154).
>
> It is in the form of the generalized other that the social process influences the behavior of individuals involved in it and carrying it on, i.e., that the community exercises control over the conduct of its individual members; for it is this form that the social process or community enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking (P. 155).
>
> The "I" is the response of the organism to the attitudes of others; the "me" is the organized set of attitudes of others which on himself assumes. The attitudes of others constitute the organized "me," and then one reacts toward that as an "I" (P. 175).
>
> Social control is the expression of the "me" over against the expression of the "I." It sets the limits, it gives the determination that enables the "I," so to speak, to use the "me" as the means of carrying out what is the undertaking that all is interested in (P. 210).

In the case of Amishmen the "me" includes God as well as the community. When working through the *Ordnung,* Amish rules for living, the community and God discipline idiosyncratic and selfish tendencies of the "I." Amishmen upon baptism and joining a congregation are "buried" in the norms of the community interwoven with rules of the church. They are "dead" to the world and alive in the immediate little community of common faith, brotherhood and order. A schematic diagram may help clarify the relationship and process:



As the Amish community exists under God's eye and judgment, so also does the individual Amishman live under the eyes and judgments of his fellows. An Amishman "buried" in his faith and tradition is not torn between the sacred and the secular. Amishment strive to structure daily life in line with Holy Writ as instrumentally interpreted. The secular world is "outside," rejected. Amishmen are "inside" the sacred community governed by rules demanding *visible and living* proof of faith and commitment to biblical law and gospel.

The "I" and the "me" polarity detailed by Mead illuminate the important difference in Amish socialization processes when cast

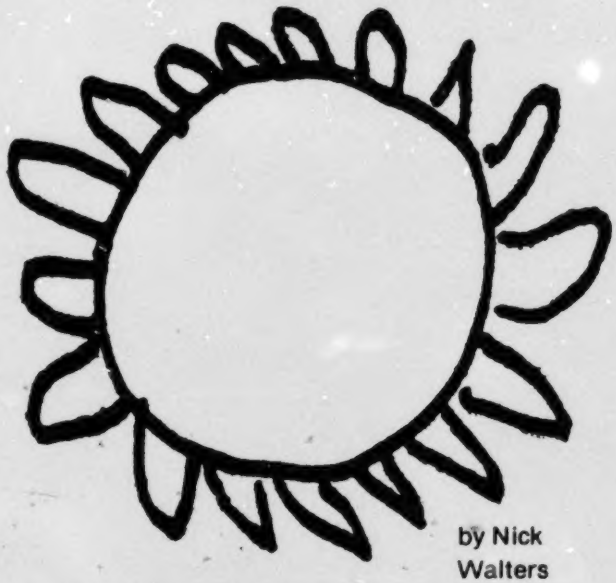
against those of the larger society. For Amishmen, purpose in life if not so much to leave one's mark on the world, but rather to be marked by God as He reveals Himself in the community. This is the essence of Amish peculiarity. The subjective "I" and its willful tendencies must be disciplined. The order and discipline of the church - community must be embraced with unreserved affection. To be obedient to God's law and endeavor to live in the promise of the Gospel is freedom for Amishmen. Dependence and defenselessness are the *sine qua non* of Amish socialization and together shape Amish experience.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This brief introduction to childhood socialization among the Old Order Amish has emphasized the distinct behavioral base grounding Amish culture. Being Amish has a lot more to do with what Amishmen do than with what they think. "Amish is as Amish does" is not far off the mark as a summary statement of Amish character. From early childhood Amishmen are an integral part of the family work force directly contributing to family productivity and family welfare. With advancing age, children grow in worker skills and assume more and more responsibility around the farm,shop, retail store, and home. Amish schools provide the basic education needed to fulfill Amish role expectations in line with community tradition and rules of the church. The school is not a place to stretch the mind. Rather it is given over to the elementary skills of reading, writing and arithmetic sufficient to meet the routine demands of life's daily round. History, geography, art and other "minor" subjects are not excluded, but are deemed marginal to the central curriculum.

There is little question that Amish childhood is a time for learning the rules and routines associated with Amish adulthood. Adults provide the role models for children and youth. Youth subculture is not highly developed in the Amish community. While young people may "flock" together from time to time for recreational purposes, their time for the most part is taken up fulfilling obligations to family and community enterprise and welfare.

How successful is the Amish community in retaining its young people? Accurate data are not available. However, reliable informants claim about one-quarter to one-



by Nick Walters

third of Old Order Amish young people are not baptized or leave the community in early adulthood. I shall not attempt to evaluate the significance of this estimate other than to observe, at least in the case of Lancaster County, that leaving the community relieves mounting population pressure on increasingly scarce agricultural land and culturally acceptable employment opportunity. Amishmen for the most part have traditionally enjoyed what for them is the "good life." This means to stay well within the bounds of community and church discipline and at the same time amply to partake of the amenities acceptable to the

discipline. Amish birth rate and survival rates are such that should all persons born into Amish families remain Amish, tremendous strain would be placed on not only discipline but overall quality of life.

Moreover, I suspect that because of population pressure, the Amish community may be retaining young people most committed to Amish life style and world view. This would appear to have a salutary consequence for continued cultural vitality. Authentic Amishness requires courage, commitment and devotion. Young people who are securely anchored in the community in spite of structural obstacles may represent a subtle qualitative selection from the youth pool.

Because of my research interest in the structure of play and specifically the playful character of touristic experience, I have come to see the Amish as a playful culture perhaps unique in modern western society. While play may be viewed by some readers as an unfortunate metaphor as applied to Amish culture and life ways one cannot avoid the striking similarities between distinctive features of Amish life and those of serious, out-of-this-world play [1] Amish costume, in-group use of the "Dutch" dialect, and distinctive life style and world view together reinforce separation from the larger society. A core feature of play is removal from "this world" into a little world of make believe, enchantment, or special vision where the core features of worldly order and routine simply do not apply. Amish see themselves as temporary sojourners in the world. Their real home is with God in Paradise. Thus in a very special way their life is an extended pilgrimage possessing a distinctive limnoid character (Turner and Turner, 1978, P. 1-38). Amishmen live "betwixt and between," a not unsatisfactory definition of limnoid experience as well as a core feature of consuming play.

Another feature of Amish life lending itself to play perspective is that rules for living are equally applied across the population. Those that do not abide by the rules are chastened and may even be cast out. This leads to still another attitude which has clear linkage with play. Mention has been made of the emphasis on separation from the larger society as a primary Amish value. This engenders a secret quality to Amish life. Amishmen comment on "gawking tourists with prying eyes." They do not seek worldly recognition. Popular curiosity, especially when it is serviced by enterprising tourism promotion, intrudes on the Amish "secret garden" in ways that are at once embarrassing and disturbing. Orderly routines and love of tranquility are lifted up for popular view and comment. There is risk here, as anyone can testify who has been caught in the act of pursuing a secret pleasure. Just as analysis and commentary tend to destroy play's mystique, so tourism may erode important and clearly unique features of Amish life. I have found little to date to document this possible turn of events. Amishmen as God's own band of players display remarkable stoic fortitude despite their increasing attractiveness as a tourist spectacle.

I share my thoughts on Amishmen as God's players as the closing context for reflecting on childhood socialization in the Amish community in order to strengthen the case for viewing Amish culture as a virtually unparalleled instance of indigenous operant conditioning. Children from a very early age are cast in the mold of adults. They "play"

[1] The best treatment of play, in my judgment, remains Johan Huizinga's Homo Ludens (1950). See especially Chapter One. Other sources I have found helpful in fleshing out a sociological perspective of play as it relates to tourism as well as Amish culture are Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture (1978) and Robert Neale's In Praise of Play (1969).

adult in early childhood only to learn as time passes that little changes with advancing years. Children enter adulthood, more likely than not, as skillful players of clearly specified, relatively unchanging roles as layed down by Amish founders four centuries ago. Each generation is a carefully edited reenactment of what has gone on before. Preoccupation with the new, novel, exotic and exciting is not in the Amish way. Theirs is the way of the player, filling previously defined roles and giving voice to a script that has endured with little change through the centuries. There are, as of this writing, few signs of the "Amish play" closing for lack of characters and certainly not for lack of audience.

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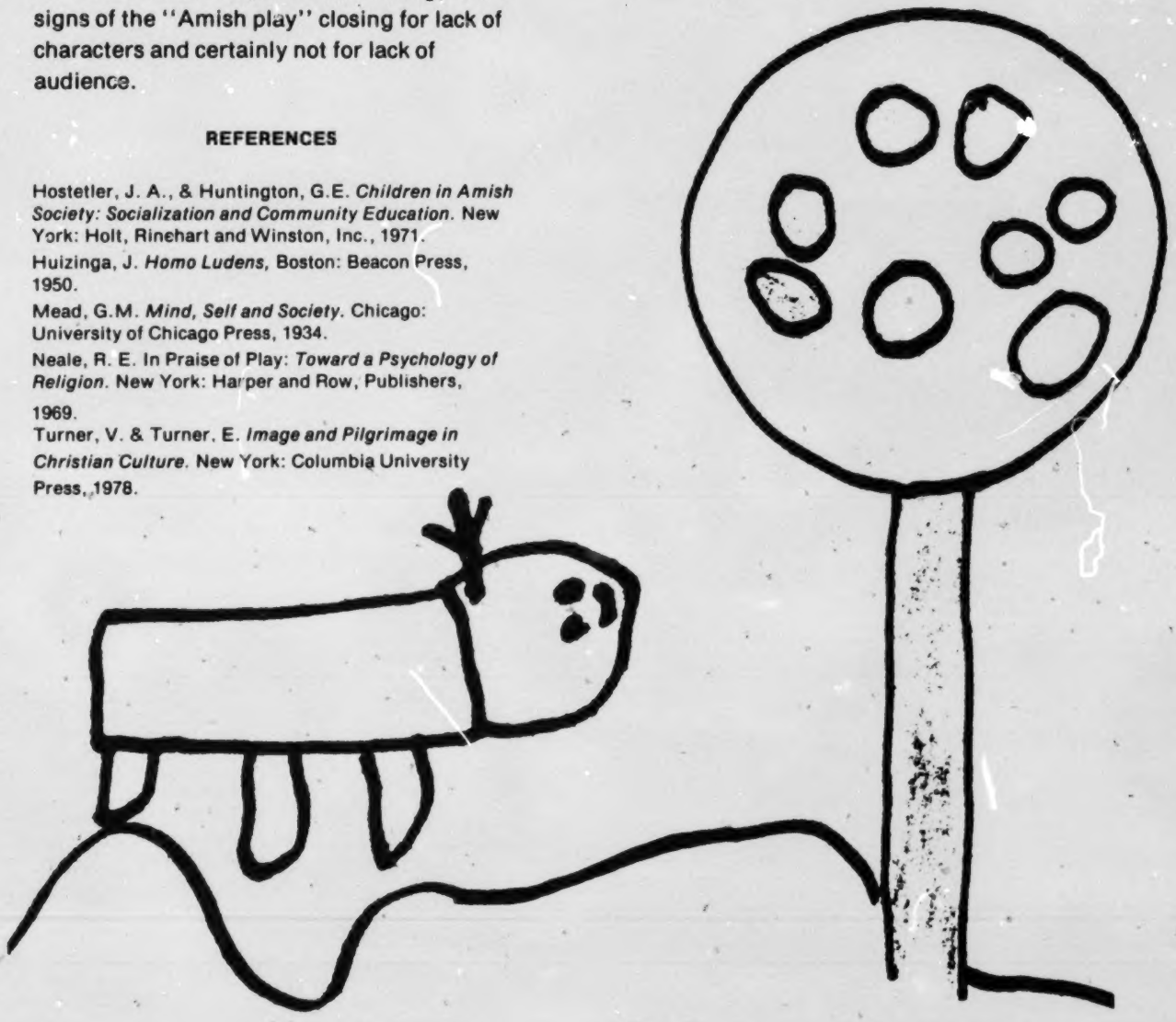
by Nick Walters, Age 5



THE MIGRANT CHILD
COPING WITH A LIFESTYLE

by HELEN FRITZ HORNBAKE

An estimated 337,000 children in this country spend their young lives wandering from place to place with their families in search of a livelihood. These children and their parents are called, often in disparaging tones, "the migrants."

While most migrants have one place they call home, they move on the average of two or three times a year with the rhythm of the harvests. They travel generally in three national streams although recent years have witnessed a significant crisscrossing of migrants from one stream to another.

The eastern stream flows from Florida, Louisiana and Arkansas through the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey with a few migrants continuing up to Maine for the potato crop. These east coast migrants are primarily blacks or Puerto Ricans. The central stream, composed of blacks, Chicanos and whites, travels from Texas and Arizona north -- to Michigan, Illinois, Colorado, the Dakotas, Indiana and Idaho. The western stream, predominantly Chicano, flows within the state of California and into Oregon. It should be stressed again, however, that these streams are shifting with an increasing number of migrants beginning their trek in one stream and ending in another.

Because of their lifestyle and frequent moves, the children of migrant farmworkers suffer many social, educational, economic, physical, psychological and cultural disadvantages which, if rightly understood and admitted, can be dealt with and eradicated. Indeed much legislation has been passed and many social service programs established to help the migrant child.

In the social arena, migrant children often feel "left out," when they are placed with other children who enjoy a degree of permanency in their lives. The migrants may not fit in because of the way they dress, style their hair, or speak. Frequently they are laughed at by their peers or ignored by their teachers.

Educationally, migrant children are two to four years behind other children in school. Continuous adjustments to new schools, new teachers, new friends and new curricula take their toll with a snowballing effect. Ideally, the migrant child should have more attention than his non-migrant peer. In reality he usually gets much, much less. There is just not enough of the teacher to go around, and because the migrant child is here today, gone tomorrow, he frequently does not even get his fair share. He may be placed in the rear of the classroom and unwittingly encouraged to keep to himself. And each year he falls farther and farther behind.

Economic hardships are another rude fact of life for the migrant child. While the 1970's have generally seen fit to reward migratory farmworkers with a better return for their arduous hours under the sun than earlier

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decades had, their labor is still cheap by most standards, and their lives are still economically insecure. According to one source (Law, 1974), an average migrant in the eastern stream gets about 20 hours of work per week after subtracting "down time" (time when a migrant cannot work because of poor weather, crop failure, machinery breakdown or other calamity).

As a result, the migrant child has few of the amenities of middle or even lower class American children in other circumstances. While migrant children travel much, they have all of the hardships of travel and few of the benefits. They see little beyond the long stretches of highway as they journey from one migrant camp to the next. They don't go to restaurants, museums, amusement parks, or in many cases, even supermarkets. Toys and books are scarce. Even conversation is in short supply; when migrant parents return from the field each evening, they are frequently too exhausted or distracted even to speak unnecessarily.

While the physical condition of the migrant youngster has improved markedly from earlier years when government-sponsored health care programs for migrants were either unavailable or very limited in scope, there is still a long way to go. Today's migrant children are still plagued with the results of overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions: head lice, worms, impetigo, insect bites, scabies and various fungi. They frequently suffer malnutrition resulting not from a lack of food but from poorly balanced diets. Upper respiratory infections are common, due to parental neglect and ignorance. Because the problem of making a living is so all-consuming, health needs, including preventive attention, are of secondary concern to most migrant parents.

Psychologically, the typical migrant child has a poor self-image with feelings of inadequacy eventually leading to a fatalistic attitude toward life: "I am what I am, I can't be anything more, I'm trapped in this way of life so I'd better accept it whether I like it or not." Naturally, there is nothing inherently inferior about the migrant child's mind or body, but society has succeeded in making him feel that he doesn't quite measure up. That feeling of inadequacy, in fact, is the greatest barrier of all to his learning. As a result, the curriculum of many educational and child development programs for migrants now focuses on building up each child's self-esteem.

The migrant child is at a disadvantage culturally in the sense that his culture is not understood by those around him in the "outside world." A Spanish migrant child being reprimanded in school, for example, will usually stand at attention with downcast eyes -- a sign of respect for elders in the Puerto Rican family culture. A public school teacher in the United States might interpret the child's refusal to look at him as a sign of stubbornness meriting further punishment.

SOME SOLUTIONS IN EDUCATION

What is being done to overcome the problems of the migrant child?

It is true that this country has indeed come a long way since the days when migrant children were living in converted chicken coops and pigpens, running unshod through the fields and orchards while other children were in school, living with serious skin diseases because no one knew how to help.

Thanks to the War on Poverty, which brought about new legislation and programs for migrants, the severest problems are disappearing. State and federal laws governing housing on migrant camps as well as minimum wage legislation which prior to 1966 excluded migrants, has improved the migrant family's standard of living considerably (although a typical migrant camp today still offers one-room family living

quarters with a bathroom shared by a number of families). In addition, various publicly funded medical services are now available to answer almost all health care needs of migrants, and it remains only to educate migrants to use these services.

And academically, even though the migrant youngster still faces many obstacles to learning inherent in his way of life, there are now many child development and educational programs that attempt to help migrant children keep up with other children by overcoming the obstacles outlined above.*

In some states, family day care homes where women care for migrant infants and preschool children in their own homes answer the need for care of youngsters who live in very remote areas and cannot feasibly be transported to a day care center or school, children who are too young for group care, and handicapped children who would profit more from one-to-one home care than from a formal, group situation. These homes keep children out of the fields and in a secure environment where they receive adult attention, well-balanced meals and simple instruction in basic skills such as color recognition, identification of objects and motor coordination.

In addition, many states now have formal day care or child development programs for preschool migrant children. (In some places where no special program exists, migrant children are cared for in community day care or preschool facilities.) Essentially, these preschool programs give migrant children the special attention and care they need to start out on an equal footing with other children in public school. The teachers in these programs know that it is especially important for children of this age to experience feelings of success and self-worth. Without a wholesome self-image, it is unlikely that these youngsters will be ready to take their places beside other children and work up to their intellectual potential in public school. Thus the curriculum emphasizes healthy psychological development.

Preschool programs also stress organized routine with rules and regulations, often seriously lacking in the migrant child's home life. Regular field trips to supermarkets, zoos, a restaurant and similar places of interest allow migrant children to experience things other children take for granted.

For older children, state and federal grants are available to provide remedial teachers to public school systems having a certain number of migrant children enrolled. These teachers, who are usually bilingual, supplement the efforts of the child's regular classroom teacher by providing one-to-one or small group instruction aimed at helping the child keep up with his peers in the regular classroom and learn their language. As with the preschool program, there is a special emphasis on building up the child's self-image. These remedial services are especially beneficial for the provisional migrant child whose family has settled in one place because they receive consistent, long-term help.

Summer enrichment programs for

*It should be noted here that state and federally funded programs also serve children of "provisional" migrants --those who have settled in an area--up to five years. Some 163,000 children are in this category.

school-age children have the same focus: to provide extra academic help, field trip experiences, and psychological development that will enable the migrant child to take his place in the adult world later on as a well-adjusted contributing member of society.

Preschool, remedial and summer enrichment programs for migrant children also emphasize career education from simple career awareness (What kinds of jobs are there? What does a policeman do?) in preschool to actual basic skills training for high school children. The goal of career education is to give migrant children a *choice* of future occupations, freeing them from feeling trapped in migratory farm work. Some may still choose to follow in their parents' footsteps working with dignity in farms and orchards across the country; others may make another choice of careers. But both paths will be the result of choice if current social agency efforts are successful.

A particularly interesting and potentially very useful tool in working with the migrant child is the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS), a nationwide computer system based in Little Rock, Arkansas, which records health and educational information on every migrant child identified in America. Persons designated by state and local educational programs have access to this system and can get essential information about his background through this means. As more and more states recognize the MSRTS as a worthwhile instrument and use it as intended, the system can help eliminate much of the confusion a child faces as he moves from school district to school district.

Clearly, much has been done and is being done to improve the lot of the migrant child. But the laws, the "Acts," the programs, the systems are only as good as the people who use them and staff them. Nothing can replace personal awareness of the problem and personal determination to eradicate it.

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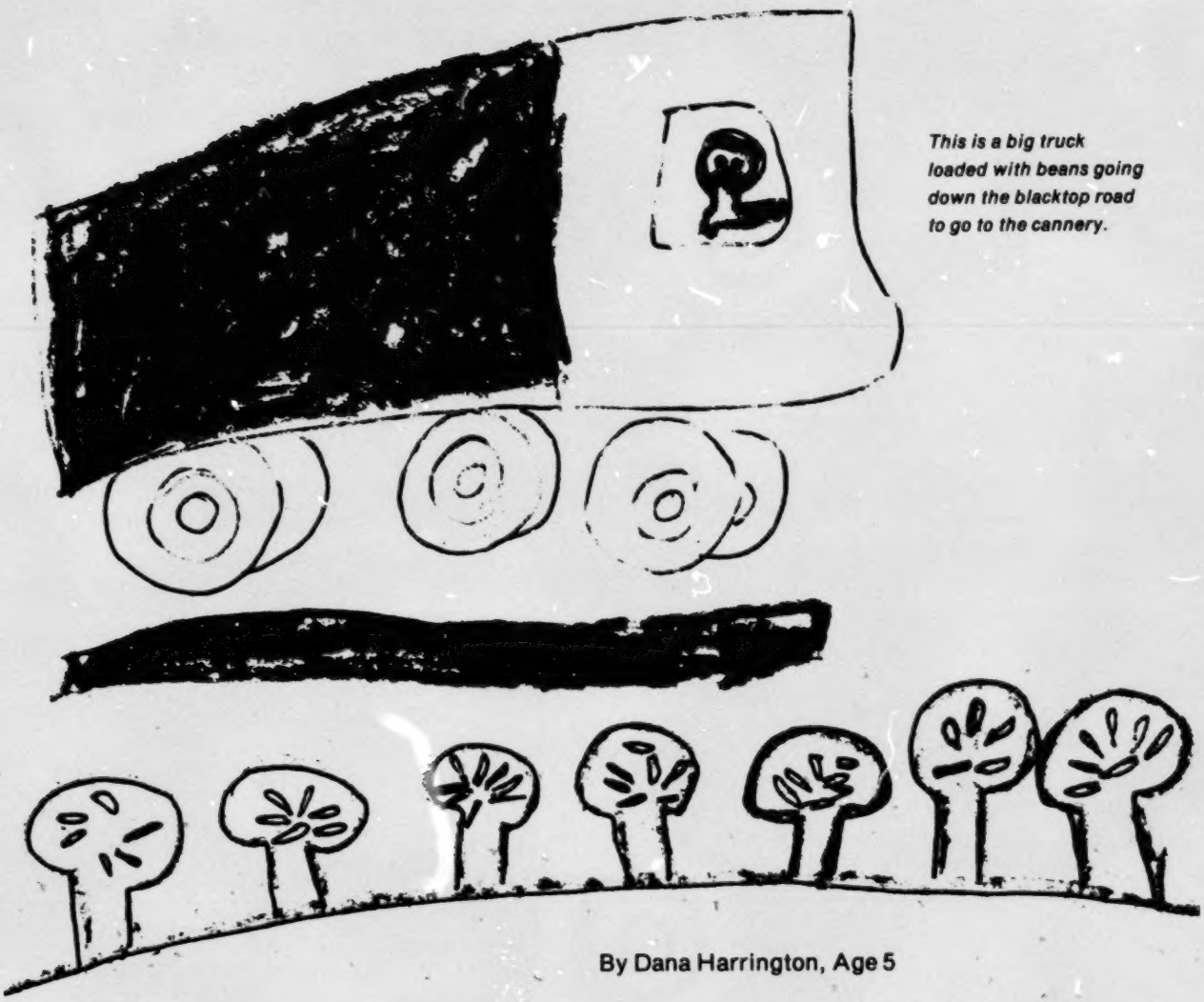

This is a big truck loaded with beans going down the blacktop road to go to the cannery.

By Dana Harrington, Age 5

I live in the country near Corry, Pennsylvania. My home is an orangish-yellow house trailer on a farm. We are building a house with logs over in the field to live in because our trailer is too small for our family.

We have dairy cows on our farm. They are all black and white. We don't have horses. My sister Tara wants horses. Dad works on the farm all the time.

Across the road from our trailer home are bean fields. Big trucks come to load the beans and take them to a cannery. I don't know where the cannery is, but the trucks make lots of trips.

Big tractors are used in the fields to dig up the soil and plant the beans. They dig up the bean plants and take the beans off and blow the plants back onto the field.

I like to live on the farm. We work a lot. We have to work. Sometimes we can do fun things. We play games and play with toys.

I have a Mother, a Father, a sister Tara who is 8, and Trevor a baby brother who is 8 months old. I am five and go to Kindergarten in the mornings. Afternoons I go to the Parent-Child Center where my Mother teaches. My Mother is busy teaching and playing the organ at church.

The Appalachian Child

by EDWARD E. GOTTS
LINDA A. HIGGINBOTHAM

INTRODUCTION

The rural Appalachian child is the victim of many stereotypes about his/her people and their culture. This paper challenges some of the commonly held and invalid stereotypes of the Appalachian child and his/her family. This is accomplished through a selective review of the literature. The review considers the characteristics of rural Appalachian families which make them different from as well as similar to other rural and urban Americans. In addition, preliminary findings are presented from the Home-Oriented Preschool Education (HOPE) Follow-Up Study, a longitudinal study being conducted by the Appalachia Educational Laboratory (AEL). Earlier published results are also discussed. Together these findings provide insight regarding the rural Appalachian child. Moreover, forthcoming results are highlighted for another AEL study, the Regional Parenting Surveys.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND IDENTIFICATION OF RESOURCES FOR FURTHER STUDY

Much of the past literature focusing on the rural Appalachian child and her/his family has highlighted and often discussed in great detail the characteristics of these people which make them different from contemporary, urban Americans. These contrasts often present Appalachians in unfavorable ways, as will be seen. Furthermore, the approach has often been not only to overaccentuate these differences but also to represent the persons living in Appalachia as being a homogeneous group. They are not.

Ergood (1978, p.39) summarized this literature by listing the following 11 personal characteristics of mountain people, as cited in selected studies from 1898-1972. They appear in the order of their most frequent citation: independence, religious fundamentalism, strong family ties, life in harmony with nature, fatalism, traditionalism, honor, fearlessness, allegiance, suspicion of government, and born trader. These cited characteristics appear repeatedly in impressionistic studies which draw their inspiration and conclusions from prior impressionistic studies rather than from any carefully considered examination of new findings.

Thus, the foregoing personal characteristics have come to be attributed commonly to "hillbillies," "mountaineers," or "highlanders" of the Appalachian Region. In fact, the use of the label "hillbilly" itself brings to mind the composite image described by Ergood (1978, pp. 36-37):

> ...To most the mountaineer is not a person but a

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prototype: in one period he's an ornery, independent feuding moonshiner. In another he's a proud honest, God-fearing subsistence farmer. Still another prototype is the thin, gaunt, black-faced mountain miner. Finally, he is portrayed as a down-hearted, beaten, welfare recipient rocking on his dilapidated porch "just a setten."

The prototype mingles fact and fiction in an alluring manner. Such repetitious characterizations of any group of people suggest the existence of either (a) a powerful underlying reality or (b) a notably persistent mythology or (c) some confused combination of *a* and *b*. We believe that *c* most nearly represents the state of affairs in the literature--a state of confusion. Behind this confusion lies a twofold history: (1) one of people making observations that were at some time accurate regarding some limited subgroup of Appalachians (i.e., as suggested by *a*) but which the observers attributed to all Appalachians by overgeneralization and (2) one of prototypic thinking that has been strongly motivated by a desire to make Appalachians understandable by reducing their complexity into a graspable, simplistic belief or myth (i.e., as suggested by *b*). The complexity of Appalachians eloquently challenges both the mythology and the tendency of writers to overgeneralize from their limited and often outdated facts.

The reality often lies somewhere between the overstatement of fact and the myth. For example, the concept that Appalachian families are highly similar in background is definitely not as valid as it once was. Hansen and Stevic (1971, p. 10) aptly stated nearly 10 years ago what is even truer today:

> ...Within this region there are many different family profiles. These include well educated people living in large cities, lower-class whites and blacks, farm families, mining families, inner-city families, isolated hollow families and so on. There is no more a typical Appalachian family than any other typical American family. (Emphasis added)

Nevertheless, some generalizations can be made about the families of children who live in Appalachia. These provide confirmation for some traditional views of the family as well as a contradiction of others. According to Brown and Schwarzweller (1970, pp. 86-89), the characteristics of the Appalachian families which differ from those of other American families are that they

(1) put more emphasis on family tradition,
(2) tend to have larger family sizes, although the difference in size appears to be decreasing,
(3) make "a sharper separation of role activities between the sexes,"
(4) are less child-centered ("are not as permissive or as nondirective and there is more reliance on physical punishment"),
(5) exert tighter controls over adolescents, which tend to result in less juvenile deliquency especially in the more remote rural areas, and
(6) are more likely, particularly in rural areas having longtime residential stability, to restrict informally the free choice of mates.

The similarities between the Appalachian families and other American families (Brown and Schwarzweller, 1970, pp. 86-89) are that in both

(1) the fertility rates are declining,
(2) the residential family unit is the conjugal family (husband, wife, and immature children) although the extended family continues to be important,
(3) the conjugal family maintains contact with both sets of in-laws,
(4) the existence of male dominance is prevalent,
(5) the children upon reaching adulthood disperse from the homes of their parents, and
(6) the older people remaining on the

family homesteads are isolated and alone.

Needs also provide areas of significant contrast. For example, using the 1950-census definition of rural residents as persons living outside of urban areas (i.e., outside of communities of 2,500 or greater), the contrasts between the needs of rural and urban families are immense (Segal, 1973; Tamblyn, 1973). These two reports, generally basing their conclusions on 1970 vintage data, indicate that rural families receive poorer health care, have higher infant mortality rates, suffer from higher rates of chronic disabilities, live below the poverty level twice as often as metropolitan residents, experience continual high rates of unemployment and underemployment, have received less formal schooling, and clearly live in the nation's poorest housing (i.e., rural slums are notoriously worse than urban slums in quality of housing). Rural schools also have massive needs that have been aggravated by Federal neglect of them in favor of giving greater attention to urban schools (Sher, 1978).

While the preceding contrasts (Segal, 1973; Tamblyn, 1973) were made between rural and urban dwelling Americans in general, they appear to be equally valid for the specific comparison: Appalachian rural versus Appalachian urban dwellers (CSR, 1978; Tracy & Pizzo, 1977). The life conditions of rural Appalachians, thus, resemble those of rural Americans in general. However, the intensity and concentration of such unfavorable living and learning conditions are more pronounced for children in Central Appalachia than in rural America in general or in the rest of rural Appalachia (CSR, 1978).

AEL'S HOPE EXPERIMENT

From 1968-1971, AEL conducted an exemplary early childhood program in Central Appalachia. The Home-Oriented Preschool Education (HOPE) experiment provided a highly personalized daily TV program, home visitor assistance to parents, and a weekly one-half day group experience for three-through five-year-old children in Southern West Virginia's hard coal district. The sample was selected to be representative of a four county region. The families were primarily rural, had family incomes substantially below the national average, had TV sets in nearly all homes, consisted largely of parents who had completed a 12th grade education and who were of lower middle class background on the average, and contained both of the child's biological parents in 90 percent of the homes (Bertram & MacDonald, 1971).

These parents had a strong interest in their children's preschool learning and development as evidenced by a 95 percent rate of agreement to participate with their children in the experiment if selected. A majority of the parents expressed a desire for their children to attend college. In over 80 percent of the homes the children were cared for in the daytime by their mothers and in 95

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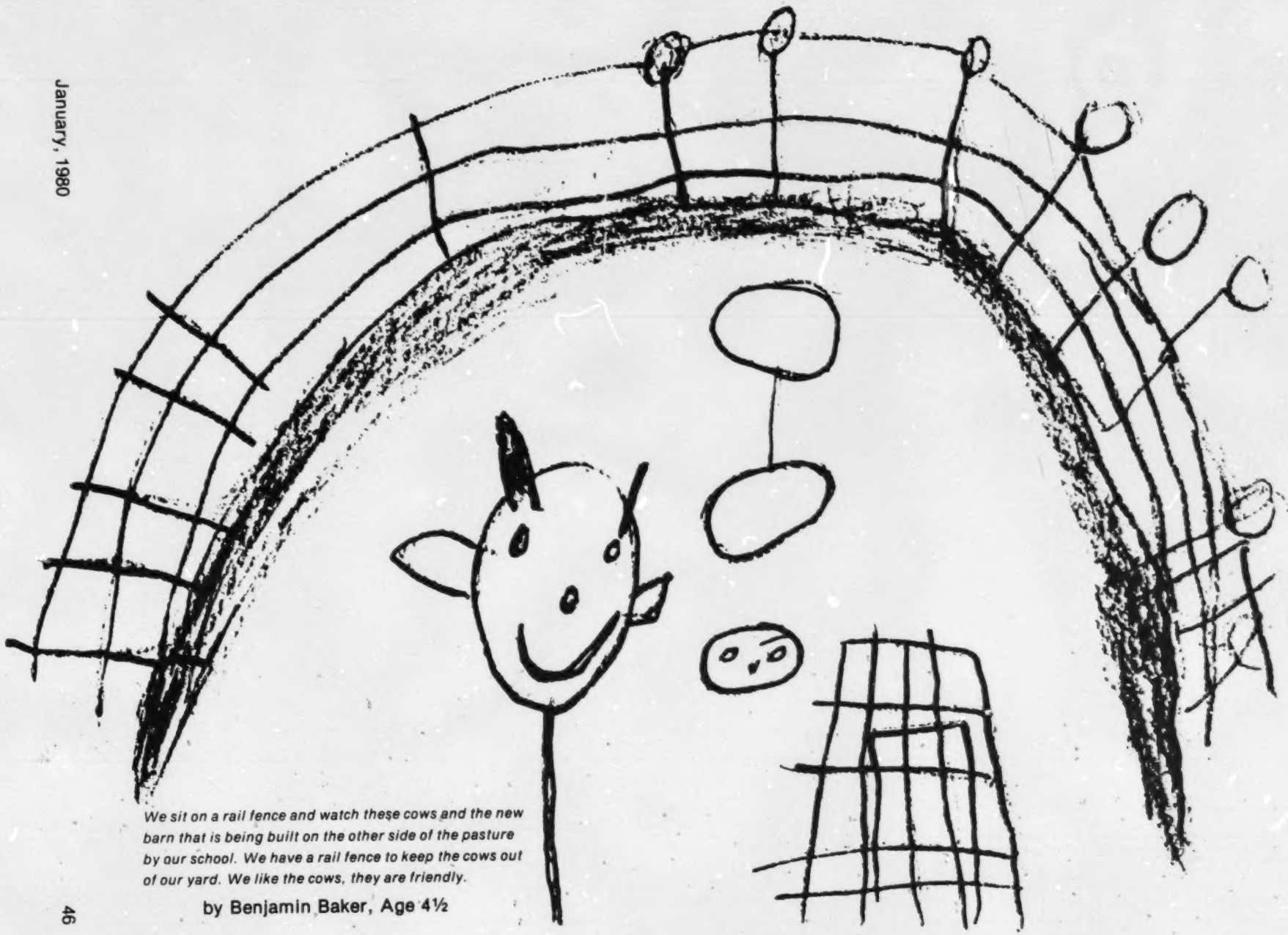

We sit on a rail fence and watch these cows and the new barn that is being built on the other side of the pasture by our school. We have a rail fence to keep the cows out of our yard. We like the cows, they are friendly.

by Benjamin Baker, Age 4½

percent of the homes they were cared for by their mother, father, grandparents, or another close relative. Home visitors were readily accepted by parents. The home visitor-parent relationship became in most instances a firm and ongoing one. Of parents whose children were enrolled in the full program, 89 percent reported that they watched the special TV broadcast regularly with their children in order to be prepared to participate in follow-up learning activities with them at home.

AEL is now carrying out a comprehensive follow-up study of these children, approximately 10 years after their participation in HOPE. Eventually this study, when completed in late 1980, will provide an in-depth understanding of the children and their families, and of the ways in which Appalachian parents' characteristics influence their children's learning and development.

Of the preliminary findings which are currently available for the total sample of 341 children, two are particularly interesting. These findings are in the area of the children's style of relating to others and of coping in school. These characteristics are measured by the *School Behavior (S Beh) Checklist,* developed by one of the present authors and completed by the children's current teachers. Compared to urban children and to non-Appalachian rural children, these rural Central Appalachian children (whether they participated in HOPE or not) are much more likely to be coping effectively in the social environment of the school.

The second finding is for those children who are not coping effectively in school at present. In prior studies with the *S Beh Checklist,* both urban and non-Appalachian rural children who were non-coping were more likely to manifest a pattern of acting out, aggressive behavior. This pattern is much less common among rural Appalachian children who are non-coping. They are much more likely to manifest a dependent and self-effacing pattern of non-coping behavior.

In the foregoing connection it is exciting to note that the Appalachian children who did not participate in HOPE were two times more likely than the HOPE children to manifest non-coping behavior in school. This suggests that the early education provided by HOPE effectively reduced by one-half the chances that a child would become non-coping in school.

AEL is now conducting a related study of approximately 1,640 families in seven Appalachian states. When completed in late 1980, this study will provide comparative findings across states and between urban and rural portions of the Appalachian states. These findings will highlight the current needs and child-rearing practices of parents and the sources to which parents turn for advice and assistance in bringing up their children.

FAMILIES OF PRESCHOOL APPALACHIAN CHILDREN

During 1974-1975, AEL, in cooperation with the U.S. Bureau of the Census, completed a major study of the families and home environments of preschool children in the 13-state Appalachian region. This study tended to bear out for the region as a whole the findings reported above for the Southern West Virginia HOPE Study (Bertram, 1975).

On the other hand, state-by-state comparisons and within-state comparisons of counties revealed the kinds of differences which were discussed earlier in the literature review section of this paper. This study, thus, illustrates repeatedly how one can be misled by looking at the "average family." That average family perspective reveals only a pattern of low income, rural residence, above-national rates of unemployment, and

so forth. In fact, each of the 397 counties of Appalachia has its own characteristics. And within each county, each family is unique, as is each child.

Therefore, if we wish to know and understand the Appalachian child, we should begin by weighing carefully both the contributions and the limitations of such statistical descriptions of groups and populations. These are most useful for indicating average life circumstances, average environments, and characteristic family patterns for groups of children. The Appalachian child, like every other child, must ultimately be known and understood as an individual without the benefit of myths and stereotypes.

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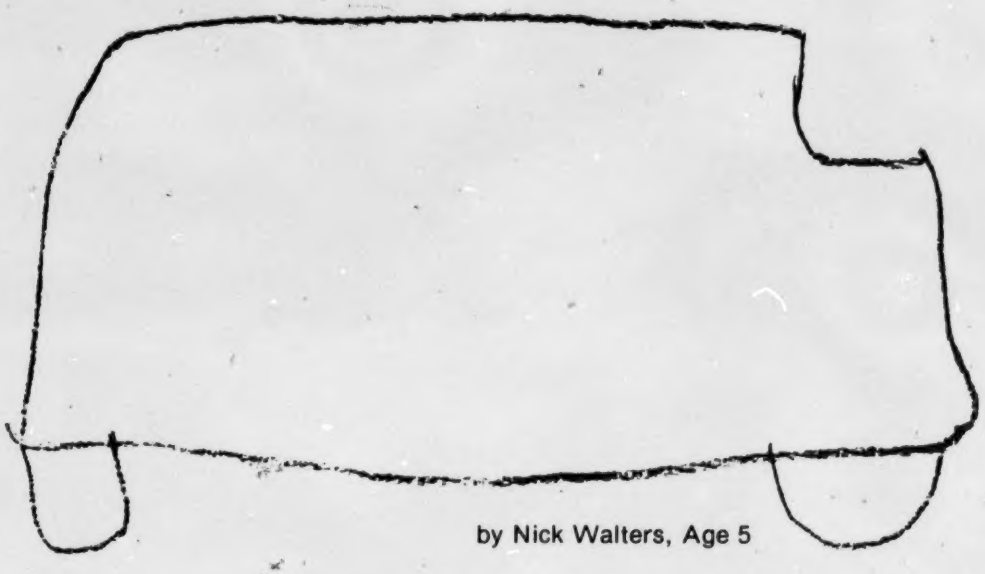

by Nick Walters, Age 5

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RURAL FAMILY

by C. SHANNON STOKES

The approach of the 1980 census to be taken on April 1, 1980 is a reminder of the detailed information that will soon be available on families and children throughout the nation. Census data are often overlooked as a source of information on the socio-economic, employment, housing, living arrangements, and educational characteristics of families and children. In addition to enumerating the population of various geographic areas within the nation, the census collects a sizable amount of data on families with children.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate briefly some of the information that will be available in the 1980 census and some of the uses to which it may be put. Illustrative material is drawn from several Current Population Surveys, the 1970 census, and an analysis of census data for Pennsylvania as reported in *Children in Pennsylvania* (Madden, Stokes, and Grossman, 1975). Some data are reported for the nation as a whole, while other analyses are specific to the nonmetropolitan population (areas outside of counties containing cities of 50,000 or more) or to rural areas (small cities, towns, and areas with less than 2,500 population).

The 1980 census undoubtedly will reveal substantial changes in the household and family composition of Americans. These changes have important implications for the conditions in which children will be reared. The Current Population Survey conducted monthly by the Bureau of the Census provides preliminary evidence on some of the changes that are occurring. For example, between 1970 and 1977, the number of families headed by women with no husband present increased by 38 percent or some 2.1 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1978a, P.5). Most of this increase is due to the rising level of separation and divorce. During the seven-year period, the number of families maintained by divorced persons doubled.

Changes in the marital status of males and females who maintain families with no spouse present are reflected in the lives and living arrangements of children. The well-publicized decline in the birth rate during the 1960's resulted in 5.4 million fewer children under 18 in 1977 than in 1970. Although the total number of children declined by over 5 million, the number of children living with females with no spouse present increased by almost 3 million (U.S Bureau of the Census, 1978a, P.4).

Although the number of children living in homes without both parents present increased substantially since 1970, this does not necessarily mean these are single adult

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households. The Census Bureau defines a family as "two or more persons who live together and who are related by blood, marriage, or adoption" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1978a, P. 4). Many of the families headed by men or women with no spouse present contain other adults in the household. Common examples include grandparents, brothers, sisters, and other relatives in addition to the parent and child. Early childhood specialists and educators must begin to deal with family units somewhat different from that of a husband, wife and their children. In fact, by 1978, households containing a married couple with children constituted just under one-third (32.4%) of all households (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979, P.1).

THE RURAL FAMILY

The increase in the number of children living in female-headed households entails a number of negative socio-economic consequences in addition to the obvious social and psychological burdens of family disruption. It is worth noting that five of every six persons maintaining families without a spouse are women. The greater incidence of poverty and its associated problems is closely related to whether the head is a male or female. Moreover, the incidence of poverty among female-headed households is even greater in rural areas than in metropolitan areas. In 1976, 32 percent of female-headed families in metropolitan areas were below the poverty level (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1978b, P. 116). In entirely rural areas (counties with no place of 2,500 population), almost 42 percent of female-headed families were in poverty, despite the fact that the poverty cutoff point is lower among farm families, who make up a significant portion of the rural population.

These data reflect, in part, the lower incomes traditionally associated with rural residence. Median family income of nonmetropolitan families in 1976 was 81 percent of that of metropolitan families, while families in entirely rural counties had just 72 percent of the median income of metropolitan families. Thus, rural families had fewer financial resources upon which to draw. Rural-urban disparities are also found in education, housing, medical care, and other human services. The urban bias in many family-related human service delivery systems further compounds the problems facing the rural family.

An analysis of 1970 Census data on children in Pennsylvania revealed that predominantly rural counties ranked high on a series of problem indicators (Madden et al., 1975). The indicators were selected as measures of the social and economic well-being of children and included items such as: the percent of children in poverty, the number and percent of children not living with both parents, infant deaths per 1,000 live births, the percentage of children living in overcrowded housing or in housing lacking complete plumbing, and the percent of children ages 16-17 not in school. Information on these conditions is available for every county in the nation and, in most instances, can be obtained for smaller geographic units such as townships or boroughs.

Rural children in Pennsylvania disproportionately live in homes with one or more of these deplorable conditions. Rural and urban counties, for example, tended to fall at opposite extremes with regard to the percentage of children living in homes without complete plumbing. This finding is what might be expected in rural areas. A less expected finding perhaps is that rural counties were also high on one other indicator of housing quality - overcrowding. In two predominantly rural counties, over 30 percent of all children lived in households with more than one person per room.

Further, of the 10 counties with the highest incidence of overcrowding among children, only three were 50 percent or more urban. In a composite profile of 12 social indicators directly related to problems of children and families, seven of Pennsylvania's 67 counties ranked in the "top five" on the degree of severity on three or more of the problematic conditions. Of those seven counties, three were 100 percent rural (contained no place of 2,500 population), three others were between 67 and 86 percent rural, and only one was an urban county.

USES OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The 1980 Census will contain information on a variety of conditions of families and children in addition to those listed here. Professionals and laymen concerned with families and children can profit by an examination of census data. However, one caution should be noted when using census data for the first time. It is easy to feel overwhelmed by the first attempt at using demographic data. So much information is available that it is often difficult to locate and decide what information to use. A good starting point is the appendix to each census volume which carries an explanation and definition of key concepts and terms. Similarly, the table finding guide located near the front of each volume is most useful in determining what information is available and for what geographic unit -- nation, state, county, and so forth.

At least three common uses of these materials may be identified (Stokes, 1977). ***First, demographic data may be used to demonstrate need.*** Communities, citizens groups, and public service agencies often apply for state and federal funds to initiate programs without adequately demonstrating the need for the proposed program. Testimonials by concerned citizens or community leaders that a problem exists are usually not as convincing to a funding agency as documentation of that need by *hard* evidence. Such information also permits a more accurate estimate of the magnitude of

This is a vegetable tractor trailer truck.

This part has tomatoes in boxes.

This has other vege
are in it. They are l
the stores. Some go

the problem and the size of the program needed.

A related use of demographic data is in estimating the target population or clientele to be reached by a program. Such estimates may be crude, but are almost always preferable to blind guesses or hunches which are all too often used. A careful analysis of existing data may reveal that an anticipated program is simply not needed or feasible. Conversely, demographic data may indicate the existence of some problem which calls for action, but which was not "seen" by local citizens or officials.

Finally, demographic data can be employed in the evaluation of existing programs. At least partial answers can often be provided to questions such as: given the target population, how many eligible persons were reached by the program? Are the characteristics of participants similar or different from the target population? Are program goals (changes) reflected in changes in the demographic characteristics of the population? Answers to such questions should increase the effectiveness of programs designed for rural families and children. At the least, demographic data demonstrates the clear need for efforts to improve the quality of life for this segment of our population.

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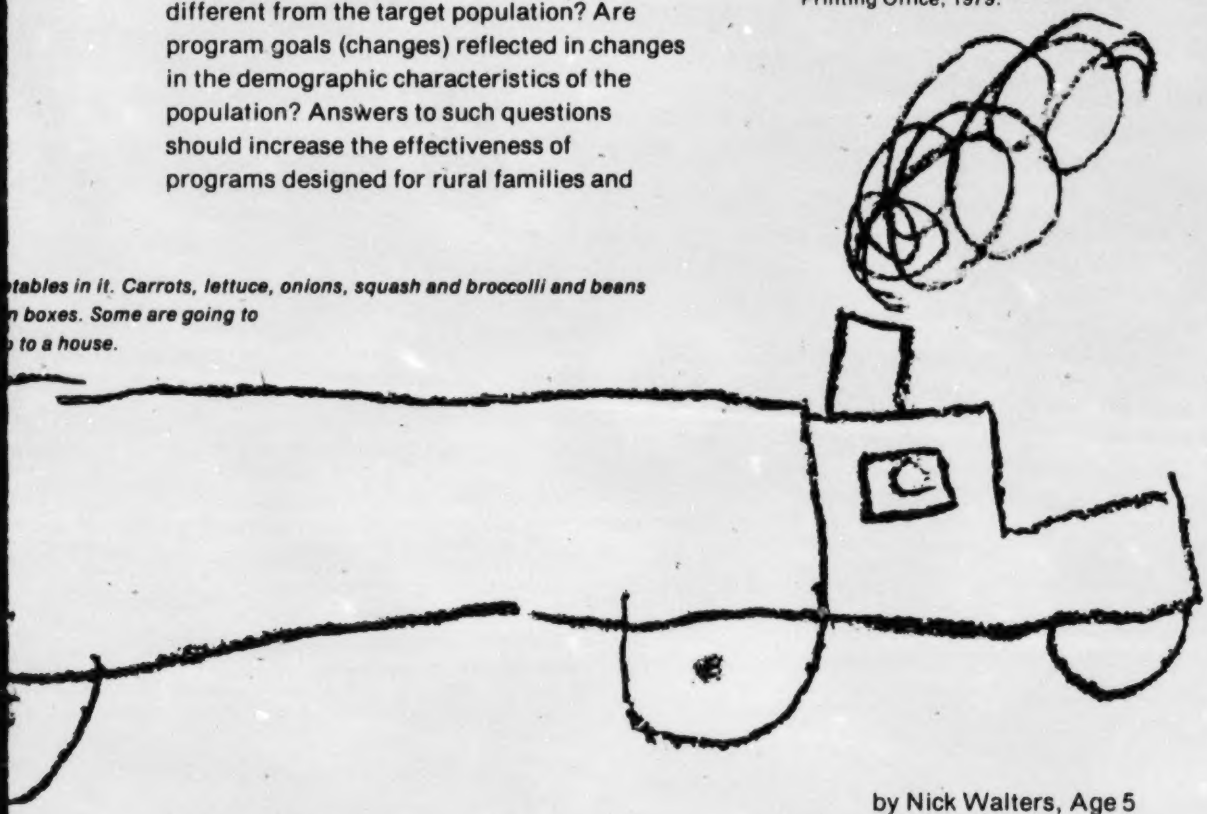

tables in it. Carrots, lettuce, onions, squash and broccolli and beans n boxes. Some are going to to a house.

by Nick Walters, Age 5

EVERY SCHOOL A GOOD SCHOOL:

A RURAL SCHOOL

by ROBERT G. SCANLON

Every learner is unique.

These words should be engraved in every classroom, every school district office, every educational research organization, every school of education, and more important, on the mind of every person who works in any of these places. We must treat each of our students as an individual, with unique strengths and needs, if we are really to be effective in helping them learn.

Rural children are no different. We must concern ourselves with the situations unique to them. Let's look at some of those characteristics that set rural schools apart from others in the education process.

Most rural elementary schools are small and while smallness has its problems (usually limited facilities and inadequate funds), it also has tremendous assets.

The small rural school offers a closeness of students, parents, teachers,

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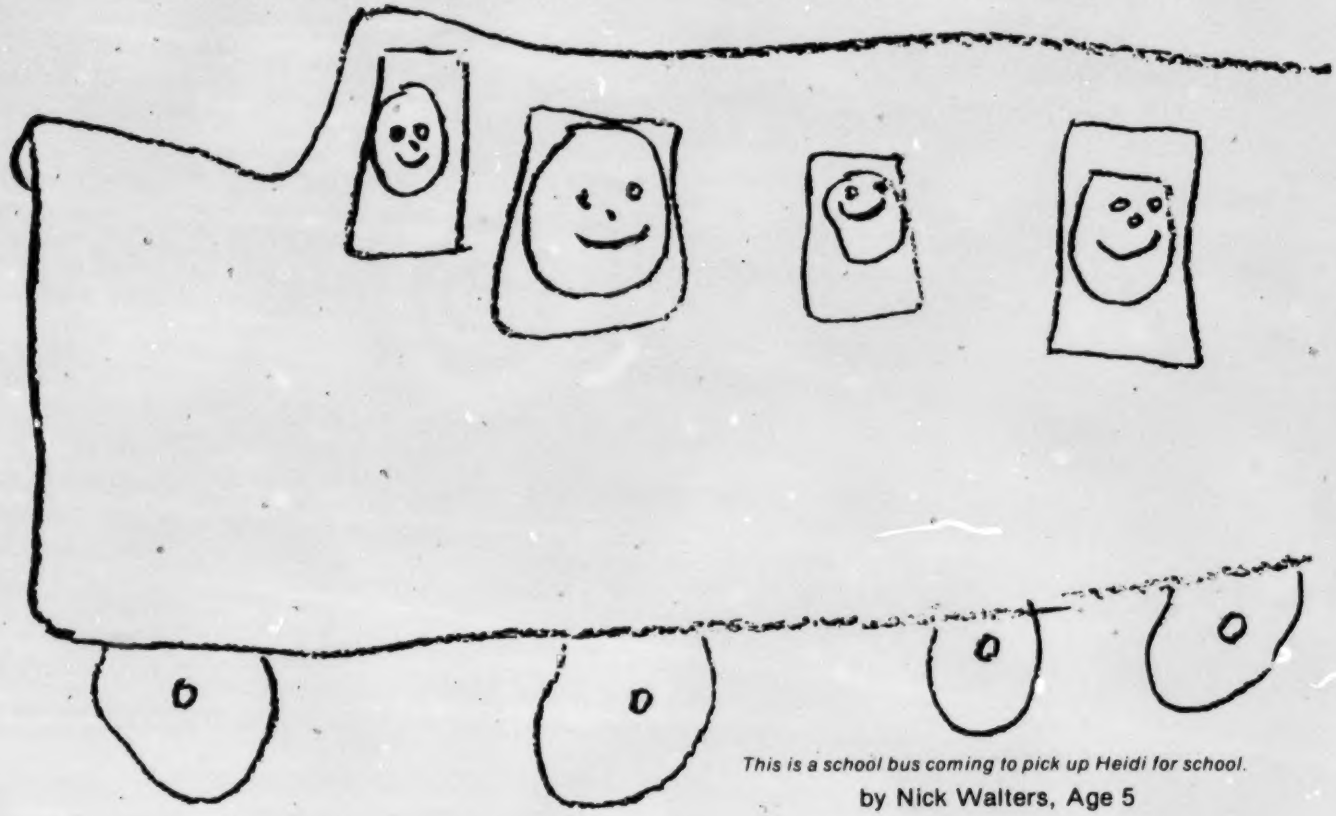

This is a school bus coming to pick up Heidi for school.
by Nick Walters, Age 5

administrators and community seldom found elsewhere. Most know each other in out-of-school situations, often working together or socializing in community activities. The rural school gives its students a feeling of belonging--and that's important. Preschool youngsters see an older sibling in a adjoining room; they know the the teacher lives on the main street; they recognize the building as a landmark in their community. This familiarity gives them a security essential for good learning.

Research into group dynamics shows that small groups function better than large ones, are easier to manage, and there is more participation by members of a small group. The generally small, rural school then, usually functions better and is easier to manage than a large one. Studies show that a greater percentage of rural students participate in the school's activities and feel important to the success of their group activities.

The rural school is usually the center for community activities--meetings, social events, and the like--because it may be the only facility available. This has a special advantage for the school staff--it makes it easier for them to become an integral part of the community. And because teachers and administrators in such communities are generally well respected, they have more opportunities than their urban counterparts to assume community leadership and power. We also find that veteran administrators and teachers in rural schools live in the school's community, thus enhancing their concern about the school.

Probably one of the rural school's greatest potential assets is its flexibility which produces an environment conducive to innovation. Several of the recent trends in education--the open classroom, cross age grouping, peer tutoring, and individualized instruction--have been commonplace in rural schools for years as children at various levels in the same room work at their own pace on those projects which they can do best.

Another goal of schools today, community and parent involvement, is basic to the rural school. This gives added strength to the schools because when home/school partnerships are strong, students learn better.

Research shows that home learning, which ranks very high in rural areas, makes children better school students in basic skills and other areas. The Department of Education's Educational Quality Assessment Program found that, without exception, students do much better in class when they see a relationship between home and school practices. Students who report strong parental interest and support for their school do much better in class than students with parents who care little.

The problems facing rural education are not unlike those facing education generally. There's the problem of finances, the commitment of professionals, the on-going need for training and retraining, and the question of responsibility and accountability. Let's look at each of these individually in light of rural education.

MONEY

A problem continually plaguing our schools is money. Today, in a time of decline, both in enrollments and availability of dollars, we are faced with doing more with less. We have to find ways to continue running our schools, to continue giving our students quality education at an affordable cost. This problem, new to many of our suburban schools, has been plaguing rural educators for years. Others are now going to look to rural educators for help in solving their problems.

COMMITMENT

In all schools, there is the need to build up the degree of commitment of the teachers and administrators. Faced with the barrage of problems encountered in a classroom setting, teachers are apt to lose sight of the vision they had during their preservice training, the ideals of their first classroom, the excitement of dealing with a new group of students each year. Excitement can give way to drudgery, optimism can give way to pessimism, inspiration can give way to boredom....and cause teachers to leave the school or profession....if we are not careful to let teachers and administrators know how important they are.

Teachers are the key to the educational process. Teachers lead their students to a variety of doors, doors which they can unlock and fling open, or shut and lock forever. Teachers have inescapable significance in the lives of their students, especially in rural areas where social contacts apart from school are somewhat limited.

Teachers can open doors by helping students recognize their talents and abilities which may be different from those of their urban and suburban counterparts. Or teachers can lock doors by failing to show understanding for the unique needs of rural students. Teachers can open doors by helping students develop confidence, a clear sense of identity and pride about their heritage....or teachers can lock doors by failing to set challenging goals for the students.

Teachers can open doors by helping rural students appreciate their environment instead of constantly dragging them, physically or verbally, into the city....or they can lock doors by failing to keep up with their profession.

TRAINING

This brings us to the third problem facing education--that is, the need for massive training and retraining programs for our teachers and administrators.

It is naive to think that four years of undergraduate coursework and courses for certification are all a teacher needs in order to be effective during his/her entire career. Most school districts, when they hire an administrator, assume that credentials guarantee lifetime expertise. We all know that is not so. So we've got to plan and have leadership development programs to give teachers and administrators the expertise they need to do their jobs effectively. We also need to improve teacher education programs so teachers will be better prepared to meet the needs of students.

The characteristics which make a good principal in a suburban or urban school are the same for a rural school. One word sums up all the characteristics: Optimism.

1. A good principal is optimistic about his or her faculty, students, administrators and community.
2. A good principal is optimistic about education and the role he or she plays in that process.
3. A good principal encourages teachers to do the best job possible.
4. A good principal fosters a sense of school family, recognizing the rights and responsibilities of faculty, staff and students.
5. A good principal listens to the community and lets it know what's happening in the school.
6. A good principal sees parents as the landlord of the school, not the tenants.
7. A good principal sees his or her mission as one of service--and tries to provide

Playing with balloons at our school

by Benjamin Baker, Age 4½

whatever is necessary to make that school a good school.

If administrators are to fulfill these responsibilities, then training programs need to go far beyond what is being taught today in educational administration at most of our colleges and universities. And we are going to work with college presidents and deans to include the necessary training in these programs.

If the administrator is to assume and meet management responsibility, he or she needs skills in business management, in personnel management, in human relations, in political maneuvering, and in the fine points of staff motivation.

RESPONSIBILITY

The fourth problem facing rural education is that of responsibility and accountability. Who does what and is responsible to whom? What role should the state play in curriculum development, school improvement, personnel management? Let me give you my views.

It is my conviction and the Governor's view that most local decisions are better than most statewide decisions. That's because local decisions reflect real needs of real communities and because local decision-makers are real, accessible people who must answer for their actions to their neighbors. This is a fundamental shift in state policy. It puts the responsibility of educating young people on YOU where it belongs. And it puts the responsibility of providing support and evaluating how well you do your job on the state where it belongs.

When I first became Secretary of Education in January, 1979, it didn't take me long to realize education had an image problem. It is due to two major factors: our lack of credibility and our lack of cooperation. For far too long we have not taken pride in our profession. We have let the media and others tell us our schools are bad, filled with many of the problems confronting society today. But I've visited schools in Pennsylvania, many of them rural, and I want you to know we are much better than we give ourselves credit for. It's time now to take pride in our schools. It's time to take pride in our accomplishments. It's time to take pride in our profession.

EVERY SCHOOL A GOOD SCHOOL

That's why the goal of this administration is "Every School A Good School." We have to get the good news out--change public doubt into public confidence. Our rural schools have done a good job of this already--the rest must follow suit.

Right now in Pennsylvania we're developing a School Improvement Plan. It is tailored to meet the individual needs of schools on a building-by-building basis. It's time for us to recognize that schools in Philadelphia or Erie do not have the same needs as those in Lancaster or Hannastown.

There's a lot we've learned from rural schools in setting some guidelines for what good schools are. While we think the exact definition should be set by each school family, each school community, there are some general guidelines:

1. *A good school offers a variety of teaching styles.* Rural schools have been doing this for years. Teachers do more than just lecture in front of the classroom. They interact with students in a variety of ways.

2. *A good school emphasizes the basics.* Rural schools have been doing this for years. By the basics I mean more than just the traditional three Rs but also the new Rs--rights, respect and responsibility. We have an obligation to teach our children the knowledge and skills which will give them the chance for happy and successful lives.

3. *A good school equips its students with decision-making skill which will be necessary for a variety of career and lifestyle options.* Rural schools have been doing this for years. They give students a variety of practical experiences and an education that sparks with relevance.

To succeed in our goal we need to form partnerships with many groups: industry and labor; public and private agencies; civic and church organizations; community and ethnic groups; and most of all, the family. Only by working together will we be successful.

As we strive to make every school in Pennsylvania a good school, many of our rural schools will lead the way.

THE HEALTH OF RURAL CHILDREN

by CHARLES C. CRAWFORD

The purpose of this article is to examine several issues and problems related to the health of rural children. Health and health care are taken to include both preventive and treatment behaviors and procedures.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS IN CHILD HEALTH CARE

Before focusing on *rural* children, *per se*, two characteristics of child health in general need to be discussed in order to develop an appropriate perspective. For one thing, childhood is a unique phase of the life cycle with regard to health. From a preventive health standpoint, childhood is a phase in which particular attention is devoted to complete immunizations for diseases of diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus (the commonly known "DPT" series), measles, rubella, polio and mumps. In addition efforts are made to have children tested for tuberculosis although the urgency for this test has diminished over time. Efforts to identify certain conditions and abnormalities are also deemed important because these conditions can impair childhood learning. Screening programs are conducted for dental, hearing, emotional and nutritional problems. Since childhood is the stage of life when physical and emotional development is rapid, and when interventions are needed to promote preparation for a healthy adulthood, these immunization and screening programs take on added significance.

As has already been intimated, many childhood ills center on diseases with a physical basis. Just as important, however, are health problems which have a social origin, whether the social dimension be family, friends, neighborhood or the larger community. Included here would be such problems as child abuse and certain forms of emotional and mental illness. Even some physical health problems are precipitated by psycho-social environments (Stone, Cohen, Adler and Associates, 1979). Health problems involving a social dimension can be just as damaging to good child health as diseases with a physical basis. However, reduction of socially linked health problems is often more difficult than those of the physically based ones because the causal agent is not as easy to detect and control or eliminate.

In addition to the uniqueness of the health problems of childhood and the importance of their early identification and treatment, a second important consideration in general child health care is the dependence of children on other persons for understanding and seeking help with health problems. Young children have neither the requisite knowledge about illnesses, their symptoms, their prevention or their treatment, nor

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control of the resources needed to seek help with these problems. These are elements of health and health care that are learned (in the case of knowledge) and granted or acquired (in the case of resources) as one becomes older and moves toward adulthood.

To prevent, identify, or treat the many illnesses, diseases and abnormal health conditions outlined above, rural communities do provide unique challenges when compared to urban or metropolitan areas. These challenges may be classified into three major categories: (1) the distribution of health problems among rural children; (2) the availability and use of health care resources to deal with child health problems, and (3) existing and proposed solutions to solve these problems.

DISTRIBUTION OF HEALTH PROBLEMS AMONG RURAL CHILDREN

Data for systematically comparing dimensions of rural and urban child health are very limited, being found mostly in national analyses. Findings from the Health Interview Surveys of the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) indicate that rural children are healthier than their urban counterparts when comparisons are made with regard to acute conditions (those conditions lasting less than three months and medically attended or with restricted usual pattern of activities for one or more days) (USDHEW, 1978a, p. 3). Nonmetropolitan farm children under 5 years of age in 1976-1977 had a lower incidence of acute conditions than nonmetropolitan nonfarm children that age, and both of these categories of children had lower levels than did metropolitan children of the same age (308,392, and 408 acute conditions per 100,000 children, respectively). For children aged 5-14 years, the ranking for the three residence categories was the same but the levels were lower (252, 283, and 300, respectively).

Special community surveys, carried out by researchers at selected rural sites across the country, often report variations in the distribution of illnesses among categories of the populations at those sites. These studies contribute to knowledge about conditions among different socio-economic and ethnic groupings within rural areas. Copp (1976) and Hassinger (1976) have both noted the importance of these variations within rural settings as they relate to health. Copp (1976) in particular has noted that subpopulations such as the American Indians, southern rural Blacks, Mexican Americans (Chicanos), Appalachian and Ozark whites, and migrant workers generally fare poorly. In a chapter on children and youth, a report on the health of the United States in 1978 makes several comparisons related to child health among subpopulation categories but only a few are in reference to rural settings (USDHEW, 1978c, p. 47-65).

Infant mortality, one indicator of the health status of very young children rather consistently has been found to be higher for rural areas than urban ones, even when other variables are controlled (Copp, 1976, p. 29).

The above analysis has been based primarily on findings from the Health Interview Surveys of the NCHS and infant mortality data from vital statistics reports. Clearly what is needed to supplement these sources are data from studies using examination procedures rather than reports of illness and disability. Information on reported illness is subject to cultural and

social biases and limitations in the collection process. A first step in this direction might be rural-urban or metropolitan-nonmetropolitan comparisons of the data collected on younger age groupings in the Health Examination and the Health and Nutrition Examination (HANES) Surveys, both of which are conducted by the NCHS. Reports from these studies need to consider residence and age together using more detailed age classifications for those under age 17 if the health of rural children is to be examined fully.

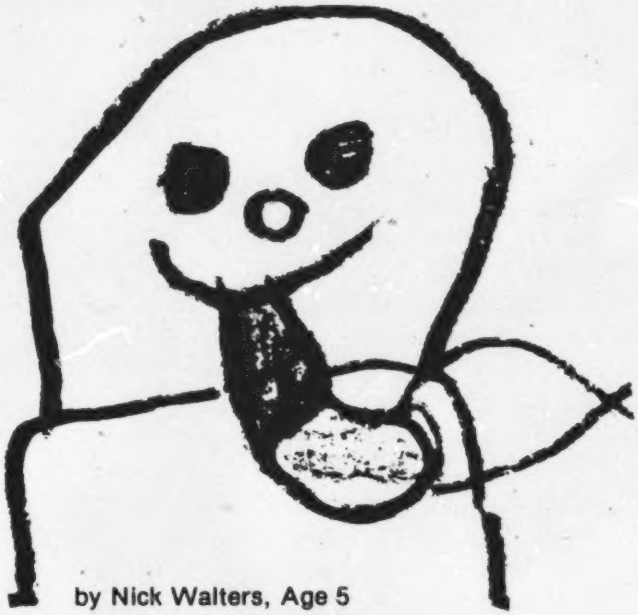
PROVISION AND USE OF SERVICES

To complement knowledge about the distribution of health problems in rural areas, we need to review the availability of services and their use. One important category of health services to review in an analysis of child health is the availability and use of pediatric and obstetrical-gynecological personnel, along with the availability of other practitioners. Pediatricians are specialists in child care and "OB/GYN" personnel are important resources in improving the quality of pre-natal care.

Cordes (1976) has presented data showing that nonmetropolitan counties have only one-third the number of pediatricians per 100,000 population as do metropolitan areas (3.2 vs. 11.3). His data also reveal a similar pattern for obstetricians/gynecologists (3.7 vs. 11.2 per 100,000 population). Another report notes that ratios of pediatricians to children and obstetricians to women of child bearing age are lower outside metropolitan areas than within them (USDHEW, 1978c, p. 61). Thus, specialized child and prenatal care resources are in short supply in rural areas when compared to the supply in urban areas.

Turning to the use of physicians, data from the Health Interview Survey show that for 1975, children aged 0-4 years living on nonmetropolitan farms made about half the number of physician visits per child than did metropolitan children of the same age, the rates being 3.8 and 7.2, respectively (USDHEW, 1979, p. 18). The number of physician visits made by children in nonmetropolitan nonfarm settings was 6.2. For older children aged 5-14, visits were lower for all three residence categories but the relative ranking remained about the same (nonmetropolitan farm 1.8; non-metropolitan nonfarm 3.1 and metropolitan 3.6).

Although data for comparing dental problems of rural and urban children could not be obtained, data on the supply of



by Nick Walters, Age 5

dentists and their use in the two settings are available. In 1974 the ratio of licensed dentists per 10,000 population for "thinly populated" nonmetropolitan counties was less than half that for metropolitan counties, 2.8 vs. 6.0 (USDHEW, 1978c, p. 344).

Visits to dentists by children 0-14 years have been found to vary between rural and urban areas but not in the same manner as physician visits. In the case of dental visits,

nonmetropolitan nonfarm had the lowest visits per child (1.4), nonmetropolitan farm the next highest (1.5) and metropolitan children the highest (2.0) (USDHEW, 1978b, p. 172).

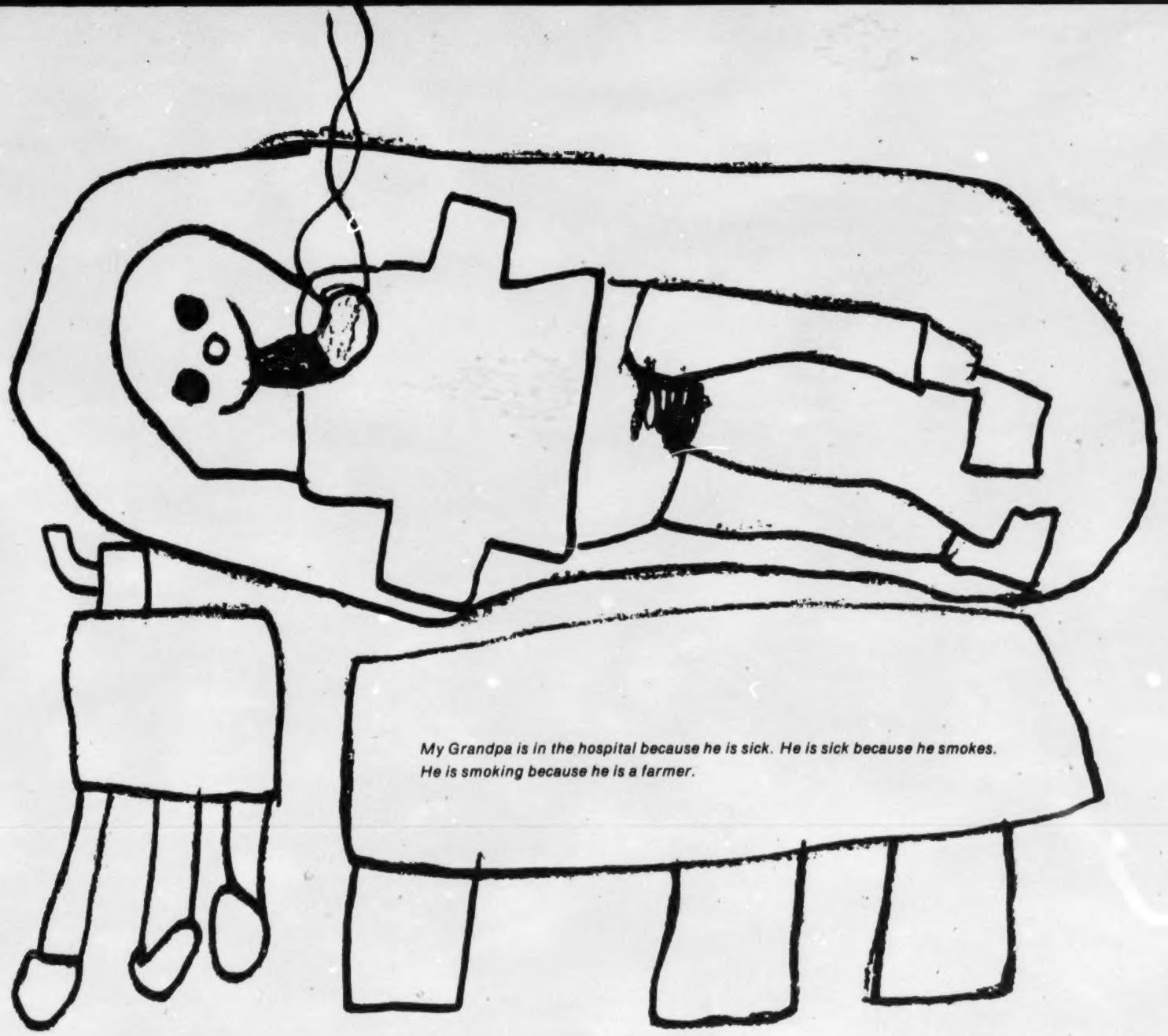
The significance of variations among community subpopulations in the occurence of health problems noted earlier is undoubtedly also relevant to use of physicians and dentists. There is the question, though, as to whether adults are more or less prone to look out after children's health more than their own. The answer to this latter question is needed to learn the full effects of subpopulation variations in health beliefs and behavior on child health.

PROGRAMS TO HELP SOLVE HEALTH PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL CHILD

A number of efforts have been made to compensate for the shortage of child health care resources in rural areas. Some of these efforts are directed towards improving the health care system itself (as traditionally defined), others are aimed at developing services that are not part of the mainstream of health care, and still others attempt to get individuals to alter lifestyles or make other behavioral changes which can improve health status. Environmental changes such as improvements in housing, rodent control, water supply, waste disposal and pollution control can also lead to increased health but these are usually not directed towards children *per se*.

One set of programs directly related to the health care system for children is the establishment of programs for training pediatric nurse practitioners, child health associates and school nurse practitioners (Silver, 1974), and the employment of these persons in rural areas (Griffen, Conkin and Lang, 1976 and Sullivan, Dachelet, Sultz, and Henry, 1978). Employment of these practitioners in some settings has been found to increase pediatrician productivity by one-third (Silver, 1968). Also, the practitioners have been well received by local medical communities and families served (Griffen et al., 1976). Such programs have the potential for alleviating the relative scarcity in rural areas of pediatricians and other types of physicians.

Two federal programs directed at improving child health were launched in the 1970's. These are the Early Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT) program and the Women, Infant and Children (WIC) program. As the title of the former program implies, it stresses screening for and treatment of childhood illnesses at an early stage.



My Grandpa is in the hospital because he is sick. He is sick because he smokes. He is smoking because he is a farmer.

by Nick Walters, Age 5

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The WIC program, enacted under provisions of PL 94-105, has as its purpose the improvement of the nutrition of pregnant and lactating women, and very young children. The program not only provides for obtaining nutritious foods but also provides information and education regarding nutritional habits. No systematic analyses of the differential impact of EPSDT and WIC in urban and rural areas have been reported.

One program which has been conducting successful general nutrition educational programs among low income families since 1969 is the Expanded Foods and Nutrition Program (EFNEP). This program, administered through the Cooperative Extension Services of the Land Grant Universities in each state, has reached low income homemakers, especially those with young children (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1979).

SUMMARY

The above analysis has examined only a few of the issues related to the health of rural children. Continued attention needs to be given to assessing health problems of rural children and evaluating the impact of various programs on their health. In 1975, one authority on child health asserted that the health of rural children and children in urban slums was so "bad" that he outlined the need for and the ingredients of a National Health Service for mothers and children (Miller, 1975). He believed that public responsibility for health care of children was no greater in 1974 than it was 60 years previously. Perhaps his proposal and reasons for it deserve serious consideration by us all if our present and future children, especially those in rural areas, are to become healthy children and healthy adults.

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Housing In Nonmetropolitan America

by JOSEPH L. WYSOCKI

Vine-covered cottages surrounded by white picket fences. Chintz curtains hanging at the windows and pots of geraniums sitting on the sills. Is this your image of housing in nonmetropolitan[1] America? Unfortunately, most of the housing in nonmetropolitan America is unlike this fictionalized ideal.

THE SITUATION

Although the provision of "a decent home and a suitable living environment" has been the repeated goal of national housing legislation for several decades, millions of Americans occupy homes unfit for human habitation. And despite what the popular press would lead us to believe, these unfit homes are located in rural and urban areas alike. In fact, while there has been a vast improvement in housing conditions in recent years, housing conditions by almost any measure of adequacy are poorer in nonmetropolitan than in metropolitan areas. In 1975, with only a third of the nation's population, nonmetropolitan areas accounted for fully half of the substandard housing in America. Specifically, 44 percent of the homes lacking complete plumbing or being crowded (more than one person per room) were in nonmetropolitan areas. Fifty-nine percent of the homes lacking a complete kitchen were also in nonmetropolitan areas.

The poor, minorities, and the aged occupy a majority of this housing. They live in dilapidated units which provide neither safe nor sanitary shelter and pay 30 to 50 percent of their incomes or more for the privilege.

Run-down shacks with leaky roofs, decaying porches and dilapidated privies are not uncommon sights for many of us driving on the back roads of rural America. Unable to qualify for mortgages, home improvement loans or government subsidies, low income rural families house themselves as best they can--often in rundown and discarded dwellings of a bygone era.

Housing statistics, important as they are, inadequately depict a principal element - what bad housing means to the people who

[1] Counties which do not include a city of over 50,000 inhabitants

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live in it. Let's look at the significant impact low-quality housing has on the families and children living in it.

THE EFFECT

A home is classified as substandard if it constitutes a hazard to the health, safety and welfare of the occupants. The literature abounds with examples of how deteriorating and unsanitary living conditions can cause or encourage poor health and injuries. Some examples are: lead poisoning in children resulting from eating scaling paint, acute respiratory infections from crowded sleeping conditions and poor toilet and water facilities, digestive diseases related to poor facilities for the cold storage of food and inadequate washing and toilet facilities, diseases of the skin related to crowding and poor facilities for washing, and injuries resulting from home accidents related to crowded or inadequate kitchens, poor electrical connections and poorly lighted and unstable stairs. Perhaps less obvious but equally harmful are those harmful effects of poor housing environment that impinge upon the psychological and social welfare of the occupants.

An overcrowded home that doesn't provide for privacy can force family members outside the home and family to fulfill this housing need. Children need privacy for the pursuit of hobbies, study, daydreaming, playing and to escape from their parents once in a while. Even more serious is the fact that overcrowding may affect the mental health of an individual, his behavior and relationship with others. Housing may affect behavior by contributing to or dissipating stress. Almost any housing quality that affects individuals may be interpreted as stressful - crowding, dilapidation, rat and insect infestation or high noise levels.

Finally, a home is more than a physical structure. Our homes have symbolic meaning that has a transfer effect on the occupants. The President's Committee on Urban Housing stated it as such:

> The place a man lives is more than just another commodity, service or premium, it is a symbol of his status, an extension of his personality, a part of his identity, a determinant of many of the benefits (and liabilities) of society that will come to him and his family.

A child living in a crowded and substandard dwelling knows it and he senses that everyone around him knows it. The environment a child lives in affects him, his behavior, his friends and his outlook on life.

CONCLUSION

How important is housing to children? Patricia McCormick, Civil Rights Specialist with the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, suggests the following in her Children and the Housing Bill of Rights:

Every child has a right:

To have physical needs adequately met through shelter;

To live in an environment which is healthy;

My house

by Tiffany Cara Wysocki, Age 5

To experience beauty both of the built and natural environments;

To have a private, personal space, a place of one's own;

To know others, develop friendships, and to share;

To feel safe and secure, to belong;

To experience quiet, solitude, and privacy;

To experience sharing, togetherness, and community;

To play, to create, to explore, to grow and become, to express "this is me;"

To remember with some fondness one's childhood.

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RELIGION & THE RURAL CHURCH

by DONALD M. CRIDER

For many centuries, the landscape of the Western world has been dotted with crossroads villages and small towns as the centers of rural life. No less a part of that scene are the churches of different denominations with their varied architectural styles. It matters little whether the basic economy of a rural community is agricultural, mining, logging, or fishing, religion is as central to its lifestyle as the family is to its social structure. What is the role of the church in the rural community, and what is its impact upon children and their families?

It may be useful to recall the religious heritage of this country. Many of our forebears came to these shores intent upon realizing a liberty of belief and practice never allowed them in the land of their birth. Early in our history, they established their homes and churches in the countryside and along an expanding frontier. Other immigrants, at a later date, came to work the mines and fell the forests to provide the raw materials for the American industrial revolution. These also brought their faith as an essential part of life as evidenced by areas of settlement with stately churches in the distinctive homeland style of Central and Southern European Roman Catholicism or Scandinavian Lutheranism. Even today, a map of Christian denominations by counties in the United States pictures New England and the West predominantly Roman Catholic; the upper Midwest strongly Lutheran; and a pronounced band of Methodists stretching from eastern Maryland, through West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio, westward to Kansas (Johnson et al., 1971).

But events have altered the face of America across the years. The scattered congregations of Christians of every denomination have fallen on troubled times. Once crowded churches now struggle to survive with steadily decreasing memberships; buildings and equipment adequate for the worship oriented ministries of yesteryear are no longer suited to the multi-faceted Christian education programs of modern times; clergymen formerly recruited largely from rural parishes and content to be paid in kind with little cash now frequently come from the city and have expectations of comfortable living on reasonable salaries plus fringe benefits. Such conditions put increasing pressures on rural churches. Though relatively few actually go out of existence, some have great difficulty coping with these changes. Often, they are combined with other congregations facing similar threats to become yoked parishes, nondenominational community churches, or mergers of other types at either the local or national level. While attempts may be made to preserve and utilize the facilities of defunct congregations, the outcome is always problematic. The landscape of America,

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therefore, is increasingly dotted with scenes of abandoned churches of every denomination.

The root of the problem appears to be the size of the rural church. Like other institutions in town and country settings characterized by low density of population, economies of scale appear to make it most difficult for small rural congregations to remain strong and relevant in these times. Quoting from earlier observations by eminent religious researchers, a recent publication asserts:

> The real difference is not between the church in the small city and the large, but between churches of different sizes; for larger churches everywhere strongly tend to have more complicated organizations, to employ staffs of paid workers instead of the single pastor, and to undertake more varied programs. (Nelsen and Potvin, 1977, P. 105)

The rural church is increasingly at a competitive disadvantage as it seeks to play a vital role in modern, urbanizing America.

Religion and the church appear to serve at least three major functions in our society. The first relates to coping with the world around us - often unpredictable, cruel, and uncontrollable. Religion imputes to the supernatural reason and accessibility so that church beliefs and practices provide peace of mind and activity in faith that everything is for a purpose and that all will work out for the best in the end. In a second function, persons are recognized - not as mere minutia among the masses - but as individuals valued by, and with potential influence upon, supernatural powers. Thirdly, the cultural heritage of religion and the church operates within the society as an integrating force bringing cohesiveness through a sense of shared values of what is good; common perspectives on life and the world; and a feeling of togetherness in a group or organization of like-minded people (Rogers and Burdge, 1972, P. 202).

Though seldom articulated, either singly or collectively, these functions are no less real in the rural church in modern America. They are the bases upon which are built the preaching and teaching ministries, whether at formal worship or in more casual settings in the parish. The Sunday schools, the catechetical classes, the pre-baptism instruction for children and early adolescents all contribute toward building in young minds the religious heritage of particular churches. Families and friends reinforce these thought patterns and lifestyles - not only or even necessarily by church attendance - but through voluntary observance of the traditional ceremonies of life as religious rites (e.g., christening or dedication of infants, marriage, burial); by respect for the Bible, the clergy, and church properties; and by speech patterns which clearly distinguish between the sacred and secular. Children are encompassed by such behaviors as they grow up learning to be adults in the mold of their parents and friends.

How strongly are they affected? Are we to believe that families and children in the American countryside are more religious than those in the cities? Popular opinion would probably respond positively, but only limited research has addressed the matter and it is less certain.

"One cannot conclude that rural residents are more religious; rather, they are more conservative in ideology (i.e., holding to certain beliefs);" assert analysts of four Gallup surveys taken between 1954 and 1968 (Nelsen, Yokley, and Madron, 1971, P. 394). The persistence of traditional attitudes across time among youth was further analyzed and confirmed by others who concluded:

> Mass society theorists notwithstanding, the level of residence differences was not found...On the contrary, residence appeared to be more useful in 1970 than it was 10 or 20 years earlier (in identifying attitudes). Why should this be so? It certainly does not mean that the more rural residents remained solidly traditional in their ideas, while the more

> urban (town) dwellers became increasingly liberal. Rather, a general change toward greater permissiveness occurred in all residence categories. ...The more rural residents were not without some changes, but they evidenced relative lags in their willingness to depart from traditional attitudinal positions. (Willits, Bealer, and Crider, 1973, P. 42)

The persistence of the rural church, in spite of its relative smallness and the consequences of limited funds, facilities, professional leadership, and variety of programming is attributed to practical as well as ideological characteristics. It is somewhat paradoxical that beset as it is with problems of size which threaten its very survival, the prestige and power of this institution is recognized in small places. One observer put it this way:

> There is a greater awareness of the churches in rural areas than elsewhere and conversely, they have greater influence there. One reason is that rural churches often are main centers of social activity; another is that in places of small population, the church leaders are known personally to almost everybody. (Jones, 1974, P. 154)

The intertwining of institutions and personalities in the culture of a community, therefore, appears to be central to the church's role in rural America.

But, what of the future? Is the place of religion and the church secure in the rural communities of this country? Or, is the apparent erosion of traditional roles and their impact on families and children but a prelude to inevitable replacement of the rural church by institutions representing creeping urbanization and the massification of society?

To be sure, current conditions such as urban sprawl and the increasing coverage of mass media bring the city out to the countryside. Modern transportation provides access by private car to a range of events and experiences heretofore unavailable to residents of America's hinterland. Consolidations of schools bring young people together to cut across former community lines, often blurring the image of social boundaries once jealously maintained. Church busses ply their routes far and wide offering opportunities to alternative congregations with facilities, personnel, and programs not possible in most rural churches. Hence, the backdrop against which the rural church plays its roles in the community continues to change.

The family, quite naturally, is undergoing its own kinds of alterations from traditional norms. One publication summarizes them this way.

> The family of the mid-1970's is significantly different than that of a quarter-century ago. There has been a marked increase in the number of mothers who are working outside of the home. The divorce rate has increased significantly in the past 20 years...In 1970, 10 percent of all children under the age of six were living in single-parent families with no father in the home. Besides changes in the structure of the family, changes have also occurred in the structure of parental roles. The increasing demands of employment and social and community obligations have had an impact on the amount of time available for parents and children to interact...The actual impact of these changes on the development of religious belief in children is not known. But we should no longer assume the existence of a traditional family structure. (Nelsen, Potvin, and Shields, 1977, P. 36)

No student of history can be unaware of the chains of events which have brought about both the common and peculiar characteristics of religion in the rural church of America. Some traditional roles remain; others have been irreversibly altered; all are subject to constant modification in a world of radical and rapid change. The role of the rural church and its impact upon families and children is no longer what it used to be. Nor is it clear what that role will be in the future. For now, what it is and does is evident and enduring - especially to those involved with it.

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This is me playing in April's yard at the top of the hill. My friend April lives in the county. Her house is on the top of the hill. We walked across a bridge, then up a hill to get there.

April has a big Batman radio tied to the outside of her house so we can listen to the music when we play in her yard. There were fishes in the stream.

I have my old plaid pants on and my batman shirt.

by Nathan McKnight, Age 5

Teacher's biographical sketch of Nathan McKnight, Age 5

Nathan McKnight is an only child of parents who are professionals holding positions in both Erie and Warren Counties. Nathan's father is a lawyer and his mother is a social worker for the County Economic Opportunity Council in Warren. Nathan's mother brings him to school as she travels past the Center on her way to Warren on Route 6. He has had babysitters for much of his childhood.

He has spent much time watching TV cartoons and the influence of the cartoons is reflected in his artwork, his play and the clothing he wears. He usually wears a batman teeshirt and his dramatic play is of the episodes as seen on TV. As time passes and as he plays in the fields, runs in the woods, and along the stream his pictures depict figures in the out of doors, but they still have the characteristics of batman.

Nathan is very verbal and has an excellent vocabulary which provides many interesting stories to be shared with friends. Storytime in which children create their own stories to tell each other are happy times at the Center. Many of the storytimes are under the century old maple trees which provide shade in the front yard on hot, sunny, summer days.

Trends and Issues in Rural Community Change

by KENNETH P. WILKINSON

Rural children and rural families are affected directly by characteristics of the communities in which they live. What has been happening in American rural communities? What are the major trends and issues, at the community level, which are likely to influence the well-being of rural children and rural families in the future? Research conducted over the past decade in rural communities shows two prominent trends, one consisting of rapid social change and the other consisting of persistence of many conditions and social characteristics which have been associated with rural life in the past. The interplay of these trends--of change and persistence--can be seen in patterns of rural population growth, in levels of income and education of rural people, in types of employment in rural communities, in the use of land and other natural resources of rural areas, and in the attitudes, values, and community relationships of rural people. This article describes these trends and suggests ways in which they relate to the well-being of rural children and rural families.

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POPULATION CHANGE

One of the most dramatic changes in American population trends has been the recent reversal of the pattern of rural to urban migration. The pattern over many decades prior to 1970 had been one of greater movement of people to urban than to rural areas, as mechanization of agriculture reduced rural employment opportunities and manufacturing jobs attracted people, especially young adults, to the cities. A reversal of this pattern has become apparent in population surveys since 1970 (Beale, 1975). As a consequence some rural areas are now experiencing population growth after many years of population loss. This change, which has occurred because of changes in the national economy, development of job opportunities in small centers, and dissatisfaction of many people with life in large cities, has important implications for the future of rural areas and for the nation (Beale, 1975). One important feature of the trend is that rural population growth is concentrated primarily in areas near large cities. Many rural areas away from the large cities continue to lose population. Thus in some rural communities, major problems for the next decade include providing services and coping with the demands and attitudes of an expanded population; while in other rural

communities, sometimes in the same county, the problems are those of dealing with further population losses.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS

Rural areas have lagged behind urban areas in indicators of socio-economic well-being over the past century, although differences between these areas have been declining since about 1900. Significant gains have been occurring in rural areas in educational levels, family income and employment, and in reduction of poverty; but because of the very large differences between rural and urban areas in earlier years, a large gap remains despite these gains (Hines, Brown and Zimmer, 1975).

Many of the changes in rural population and in socio-economic characteristics of rural people are related to basic changes in the economic structure of rural communities. Because of technological and organizational changes in agriculture, the national farm workforce declined from 13.6 million in 1910 to 4.6 million in 1970 (Rodefeld, 1978:30). Manufacturing began to emerge as the dominant economic basis of many rural communities in the 1950's, as the availability of a large underemployed labor force and low-prevailing wage rates stimulated the expansion of industry into rural areas (Summers, et al., 1974). Trends in agriculture and in rural industrialization have greatly affected rural communities in the 1970's. In agriculture, there has been a further decline in farm numbers and an increase in farm size. Agricultural productivity has been increased by these changes, but the economies of many rural communities have been depressed by them (Congressional Budget Office, 1978:30). While rural industrialization has increased the economic well-being of some families it has lowered the relative well-being of others, particularly of minorities and of families in poverty who have not been able to find jobs in the new industries (Summers, et al., 1974). Changes in agriculture and in industry have increased the linkages between rural communities and the larger society resulting, on the one hand, in a greater flow of resources into rural communities, but, on the other, in a reduction in community autonomy and cohesion (Walton, 1967).

LAND USE AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES

Conservation of open space, agricultural land and other aspects of the natural environment have become an intense political issue in many rural communities in recent years. Open space is one of the attractions of rural areas to many Americans (Beale, 1975), and preservation of open space has been one consequence of the concentration of the American population in cities--with about three-fourths of the population now on two percent of the national land area. Population growth and industrialization, particularly in the 1970's, are reducing the amount of unused land, and in many communities prime agricultural land

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My Story by Debbie Hogan, Age 5

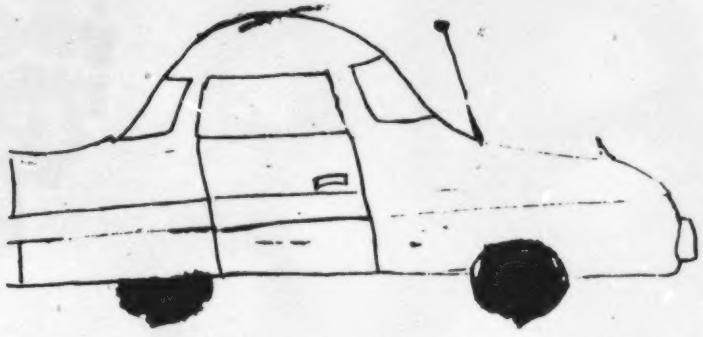
We live in a red house in Corry by the Park. Our house has some blue and light color, too. It looks like an A frame.

My Dad works in Erie. He drives the big white car to work. Mommy is a secretary and works at the Chamber of Commerce. Mommy drives our red car. She takes us to Preschool.

Diane and me like to go to Preschool and play. We have a brother Doug and a brother Denny. They go to High School. Doug plays on the football team.

We have a red car and a white car. My dad takes the white car.

My daddy going to work. He works in Erie.



DEBBIE
SUE HOGAN

Teacher's biographical sketch of Debbie Hogan, Age 5

Debbie lives with her four brothers and sisters, her mother and her father. Her father is a plant manager in Erie and her mother is a secretary for the Chamber of Commerce in Corry.

Debbie attends kindergarten during the morning, then arrives at the Center in time for lunch and attends the afternoon program. During the afternoon hours Debbie explores the fields and stream with her friends and her teacher as some science experiences and nature studies become more meaningful when they occur out of doors.

Her pictures always show well fed people. Debbie, herself, has a weight problem and to control her weight she is on a daily walking schedule to the woods (accompanied by her teacher). She is very proud of herself when she eats vegetables from the garden for snacks and enjoys being weighed along with the other children and the teachers. She does not want to "gain", she wants to grow "tall" and "strong". Debbie is also proud of her outdoor skills.

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is being converted to urban, industrial uses. While specific conflicts over land use and environmental quality in rural communities are many, two themes are apparent in the findings of studies conducted in the 19, 0's. One is that there is a conflict of interest between many rural residents who wish to develop the economic potentials of land and water around them and many urban residents who wish to conserve the natural qualities of open areas. Another is that the discussion of environmental quality issues tends to reveal animosities within rural communities and between rural and urban residents which are associated with differences in socio-economic status (Wilkening and Klessig, 1978).

Open space is a persisting quality of rural communities, one with costs as well as benefits. The delivery of public services within the rural community setting is generally more expensive than in urban areas (Ellenbogen, 1972); and utilization of services, such as welfare assistance, is frequently lower in rural communities (Osgood, 1977). The combination of lower socio-economic status with problems associated with space presents serious problems to many rural families, and this association has been cited in recent studies as contributing to various forms of individual and family stress (Webb and Collette, 1977; Fischer, 1973; Eberts, 1974).

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

Attitude surveys in the 1970's continue to reveal important differences between rural and urban residents, but show, also, a trend toward increased diversity of attitudes and values of rural people (Larson, 1978). Traditional differences in outlook on moral, political and religious issues have been reduced over recent decades, as many rural people have become more secular and liberal in outlook; but these differences have not disappeared. Rural people are still more likely than urban people to express disapproval of premarital sex, to express faith in the value of religion for dealing with modern problems, and to endorse statements expressing a "conservative" political philosophy (Larson, 1978). Within the rural population, however, important differences in outlook are found among groups with differing socio-economic status, occupation, and rural-urban background (Larson, 1978).

RURAL COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

Many of the changes reviewed above would suggest that there has been a decline in the sense of community among rural residents. The rural population is growing and becoming more heterogeneous. Changes in agriculture and rural industrialization place rural people in greater contact with the larger society. Environmental issues related to growth reveal unresolved differences in interest and values. Rural people are becoming, to some degree, more urbane in outlook; and diversity in values is becoming more apparent among them. The traditional bases of cohesion in rural communities have consisted of such factors as isolation, a localized agricultural economy, homogeneity in outlook, and close family and neighborhood relationships with emphasis on mutual aid. The evidence from community research suggests that these bases of cohesion have been giving way to a more dynamic community situation (Wilkinson, 1978). Traditional power and social class arrangements in rural communities have been challenged by increased contacts with the larger society. These contacts bring increased economic resources to bear on many community problems and increased competition in local politics (Walton, 1967). New patterns of local leadership are emerging in many communities as newcomers bring resources, demands and, frequently, a commitment to community

development (Ploch, 1978). Despite changes which are bringing rural residents into greater contact with the larger society, there is evidence of persistence of a strong tendency for people to retain psychological identity with their immediate areas of residence (Wilkinson, 1978). A challenge for community development in the 1980's will be to find ways to reduce the separation between "the community of identification" and the "community of behavior" which appears to be emerging in many rural areas.

IMPLICATIONS

The effects of these trends on rural children and rural families have not been studied in detail in scientific research. A number of likely effects can be suggested, however, on the assumption that children and families are essential components of the communities in which changes are occurring. The overall situation is one of increased socio-economic resources, increased dynamics of local social interaction. Simultaneously there is a persistent lag of rural people behind urban people in socio-economic well-being and in rate of decline in traditional social structures and culture. Rural children and rural families face greater diversity in social forces than in the past. Increased diversity and options entail both challenges and opportunities. The challenges include increased stress and less stability in role definitions and expectations. The opportunities include increased resources for achieving widely desired goals.

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In the Introduction, the reader was challenged to do further reading on other aspects of the rural community. we would be remiss not to mention the forthcoming White House Conference on Families. During this year, groups of people are joining together to explore and to discuss the American family. You may wish to use this publication as a basis for your discussion or go beyond the issues discussed herein. Regardless of how you go about it, let the ideas and words of the authors lead you to even more thought and discussions about the children and families in Rural USA.

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